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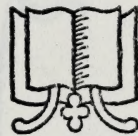
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Tract No. 97

Annual Reports
of
The Western Reserve Historical
Society

Organized 1867
Incorporated 1892



Tracts
97-99
1917-18

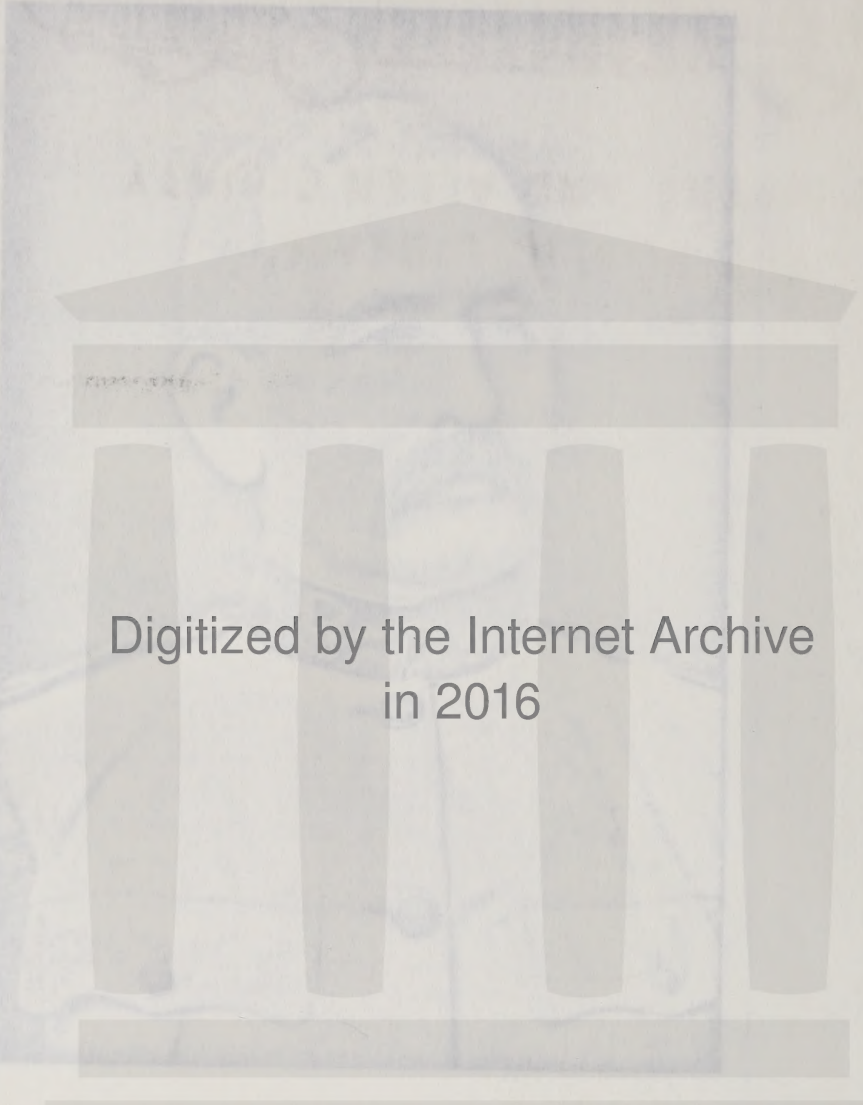
Side Lights on The Ohio Company of Associates
From the John May Papers

1917

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Tract No. 97

THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Issued October, 1917

GEN. GEORGE A GARRETSON

Life Member, Western Reserve Historical Society

Died December 8th, 1916

Articles of Incorporation
Officers—Membership

Annual Report for 1916-1917

Part II

Side Lights on the
Ohio Company of Associates
from the
John May Papers

CLEVELAND, OHIO

1917

Tract No. 97

THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Issued October, 1917

Part I

Articles of Incorporation
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Side Lights on the
Ohio Company of Associates
from the
John May Papers

CLEVELAND, OHIO
1917

STATE OF OHIO

These Articles of Incorporation of

THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Witnesseth, That we, the undersigned, all of whom are citizens of the State of Ohio, desiring to form a corporation not for profit, under the general corporation laws of said State, do hereby certify:

FIRST. The name of said corporation shall be The Western Reserve Historical Society.

SECOND. Said corporation shall be located and its principal business transacted at the City of Cleveland, in Cuyahoga County, Ohio.

THIRD. The purpose for which said corporation is formed is not profit, but is to discover, collect and preserve whatever relates to the history, biography, genealogy and antiquities of Ohio and the West; and of the people dwelling therein, including the physical history and condition of that State; to maintain a museum and library, and to extend knowledge upon the subjects mentioned, by literary meetings, by publication and by other proper means.

In Witness Whereof, We have hereunto set our hands, this seventh day of March, A. D., 1892.

Henry C. Ranney,
D. W. Manchester,
Amos Townsend,
William Bingham,

Charles C. Baldwin,
David C. Baldwin,
Percy W. Rice,
Jas. D. Cleveland,

A. T. Brewer.

The Western Reserve Historical Society

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MEMBERSHIP

The Society consists of three classes of members.

- (1) Annual or Sustaining members have full privileges, use of library, all publications, annual fee is ten dollars.
- (2) Controlling members, who alone have the voting franchise, are life members, fee two hundred dollars (one payment), and Patrons, fee five hundred dollars.
- (3) Honorary and corresponding members are chosen by vote of the Trustees.

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*Deceased

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H. A. Fuller

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- *James A. Garfield
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- *Leander McBride
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*John Tod
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Harvey D. Goulder
G. W. Grandin
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T. S. Grasselli
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DIRECTOR'S REPORT

TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES AND MEMBERS OF THE
WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Gentlemen:

A year has rapidly passed, and we pause on the threshold of another, the beginning of a new half century in the Society's history, to look back over the work of the year just closed, to profit by our errors, and by our successes to get a fresh inspiration for the one ahead.

The year 1916-17 has been one of greatest activity and disturbance in our national affairs, caused by the turbulent war into which nearly the whole civilized world is now participating, the United States being one of the last nations to enter. As an historical society, devoted to American history we have viewed the war hitherto as we would that of any foreign war—as outside the field of our work. But now it is fast taking on an American aspect in which we must be interested. Future generations, in studying American history, will call upon us for the causes leading up to, and the participation of the United States in this war. Thus we are compelled to gather material pertaining to the world's greatest war, just as we have preserved the documents and history pertaining to the French and Indian wars, the War of Independence, the War of 1812, Mexican War, the Civil War, and the Spanish American War. A small start has already been made in this direction. Will the friends of the Society kindly keep this in mind and send to us anything bearing on this great struggle?

Just as this report will show that steady and perhaps more rapid increase than ever before has been made in our collections, in even a larger degree has been the call and demand on the Society and its small force

to attend to the needs of the steadily increasing number of users. May we as briefly as possible present to you the results of the past year and then point to a few needs which seem the most pressing.

THE MEMBERSHIP

During the year death has taken a number of our members. In the list of patrons: Mrs. Caroline P. Baldwin, Mr. C. W. Harkness, Mr. James H. Hoyt and Mr. H. A. Sherwin. In the list of life members we have lost Judge W. W. Boynton, Gen. G. A. Garretson, Hon. Virgil P. Kline and Mrs. Mary McArthur Tuttle. From the list of annual members we have lost by death Mr. H. A. Everett, Mr. J. H. Severance, Mr. J. H. Sheadle and Mr. Chas. A. Vogt.

NECROLOGY

MRS. CAROLINE PRENTISS BALDWIN

Mrs. Caroline Prentiss Baldwin, a patron of this Society, and the widow of its second President, Judge Charles Candee Baldwin, passed away November 10th, 1916.

Mrs. Baldwin was born, of New England parentage, January 18th, 1842. Her earliest paternal ancestor in this country was Captain Thomas Prentice, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a freeman of that town in 1652, and famous in King Phillip's War. Her great-grandfather, Samuel Prentice was a surgeon, and his father, Colonel Samuel Prentice, an officer in the Revolutionary War.

In September, 1862, Miss Prentiss married Charles Candee Baldwin. Mrs. Baldwin was not a woman who delighted in having her philanthropies made public; she rather shunned all such publicity. Kind-hearted and generous, she was responsive to all worthy calls for assistance.

The deep interest that Judge Baldwin showed in this Society during his life time she continued, respond-

MRS. CAROLINE PRENTISS BALDWIN
Patron, Western Reserve Historical Society
Died November 10th, 1916



CHARLES WILLIAM HARKNESS
Patron, Western Reserve Historical Society
Died May 1st, 1916



ing to our current needs, also contributing generously to our endowment plans.

Besides this Society, she was constantly interesting herself in the Infants' Rest, and the Humane Society of Cleveland.

Mrs. Baldwin is survived by one son, Samuel Prentiss Baldwin, and a daughter, Mrs. John P. Sawyer, with whom she spent her life after the death of Judge Baldwin.

CHARLES WILLIAM HARKNESS

Charles William Harkness, son of Stephen Vanderburg and Anna M. (Richardson) Harkness, was born in Monroeville, Ohio, December 17th, 1860, and died in New York City, where he had passed the later years of his life, May 1st, 1916.

His early life was spent in Cleveland, where he was prepared for college at the old Brooks School for Boys. He entered Yale in 1878 and graduated therefrom in 1883. After graduation he returned to his home in Cleveland. In addition to the management of the Harkness estate, with which he had been occupied since the death of his father, he had large interests in the Standard Oil Company of New York, was a director in the Southern Pacific Railway Company, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and the Tilden Iron Mining Company. During the summer he spent the most of his time at his large country estate near Madison, New Jersey.

He was married, May 27th, 1896, in Philadelphia, Pa. to Mary, daughter of William G. and Sarah Wells (Bushnell) Warden, who survives him. His mother and a brother, Edward Stephen Harkness are also living.

A short time before his death he sent a generous sum toward the endowment of this Society, to which his family had for many years shown the most kindly interest.

JAMES H. HOYT

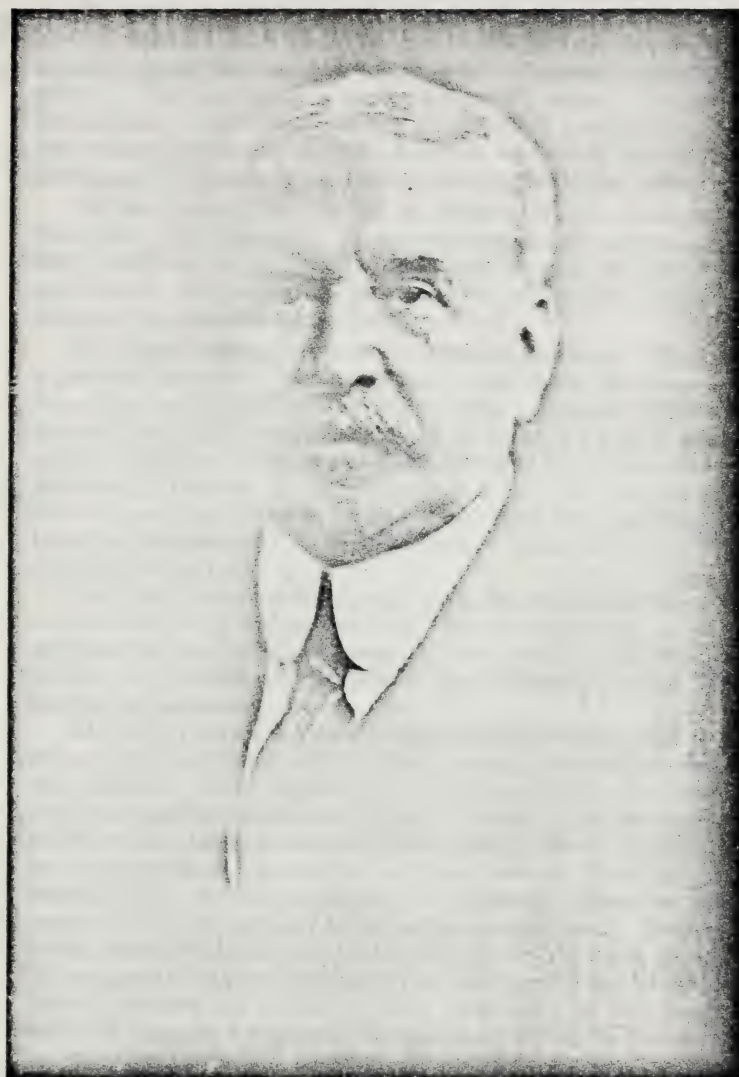
James H. Hoyt, son of James M. Hoyt and Mary Ella (Beebee) Hoyt—for nearly seventy years a resident of Cleveland, a patron and regular supporter of our Society—was called away from his earthly tasks March 21, 1917, at St. Augustine, Florida. Born in Cleveland, Nov. 10th, 1850, educated in the Public Schools and later at Western Reserve University, Amherst College and Brown University, graduating from the latter in 1874, he entered Harvard Law School in 1875 and graduated in 1877. After spending a short time in his father's office, he became a member of the law firm—Wiley, Sherman & Hoyt. Upon the death of Mr. Wiley the firm became Sherman & Hoyt, later, Sherman, Hoyt and Dustin, and at the time of Mr. Hoyt's death it was known as Hoyt, Dustin, Kelley, McKeehan & Andrews. He was a director in several companies and banks; a trustee of the Carnegie Pension Fund, member of several clubs, and the President of the Union Club, Cleveland, at the time of his death.

Mr. Hoyt married in 1875, Jessie Proctor Taintor, and had two children, Katherine Hoyt Mather, and Elton Hoyt, 2nd, the wife and children surviving.

From an appreciation of Mr. Hoyt, written by Mr. McKeehan, we take the liberty of quoting the following for it portrays Mr. Hoyt's characteristics as seen by one who was not only an intimate friend, but a daily associate with him in his business for a period of some fifteen years.

From his father and mother he inherited a keen intellectuality and a deep spiritual nature. The father was educated in the law and in theology, and, although never ordained to the ministry, he frequently filled the pulpits of various churches in Cleveland in the absence of the regular pastors. The earliest recollections of the son now held by those who were his boyhood companions center about the old Baptist church, of which the father was member, then located upon the present site of the Hickox Building.

JAMES H. HOYT
Patron, Western Reserve Historical Society
Died March 21st, 1917



He was a skilled and fearless advocate, but as Cleveland's business interests developed the demands of his clients became such that he was compelled to devote his talents almost exclusively to the work of construction and advice. He was never a seeker for public office. In 1895 he became a candidate for the Republican nomination for the office of governor of Ohio, but this was solely due to the insistence of many loyal friends throughout the state.

He had respect for the law as declared by the wisdom of the ages. He respected the administration of justice. He held courts in high esteem. He was the soul of integrity and honor. His client's cause was his cause and to them he gave bountifully of all he possessed.

Mr. Hoyt was a kindly and a sentimental man. He had a genteel instinct. He loved nature; he loved flowers: he loved his books, and he drew from them copiously. He was always thoughtful and considerate of those who were associated with him in any way. He was more than generous—generosity became a passion with him. He prized his friends, and delighted in having them with him; he always thought he received from them more than he gave, but they know better.

Mr. Hoyt was an emotional man, his emotions did not control, but they did soften him. He was spiritual; he was religious in the broadest sense; he was poetic. He was as tender as a woman. He would not willingly wound the feelings of anyone.

Mr. Hoyt was a staunch citizen of Cleveland. He had many and flattering offers which would have taken him into fields of wider opportunity for himself, but he steadfastly refused to leave the city of his birth. He was interested in her institutions and in her public life. Above all, he was intensely patriotic; he was always loyal to his country; he never hesitated or faltered whenever his country was threatened from within or without. Had he lived, there could be no doubt that he would have served his country in whatever capacity he was permitted to serve. Shortly before his death, he was presented in the South with his country's emblem, in accepting which he promised to wear it until his country should be honorably freed from danger. And so, the Stars and Stripes in miniature stones rest peacefully today upon the bosom of him who so proudly cherished the gift.

James H. Hoyt measured up to the full standard; he was a big man. May a coming generation profit by his illustrious example.

HENRY ALDEN SHERWIN

Henry Alden Sherwin, who passed away at his country home "Windens," Willoughby, Ohio, June 26th, 1916, was born at Baltimore, Vermont, September 27th, 1842. As a mere lad of thirteen he started in business. Coming to Cleveland in 1860, he entered the dry goods business as a clerk, but soon advanced to the position of head bookkeeper. Six years later he left that business to organize the industry now known all over the world as "The Sherwin Williams Company." For some four years the Company was known as Dunham & Company, then upon the admission of Mr. E. P. Williams to the firm, it became Sherwin, Williams & Company. Mr. Sherwin remained the head of the organization until his health demanded a release from the close application that had been given so unstintedly to the up-building of their immense business, at which time he relinquished his active connection, and became the head of the board of directors of the Sherwin Williams Company. This gave him more time to spare for other things in which he was interested, and he turned to the development of his beautiful country estate at Willoughby, overlooking the valleys and hills towards the old Mormon Temple at Kirtland. Part of his land was formerly owned by the Mormons, and it was on account of this historic connection that he provided The Western Reserve Historical Society with a fund to gather material pertaining to the history of the Mormons and to their settlement at Kirtland. Here on his estate he erected his country residence and in it provided a magnificent room to house his rare books and manuscripts, the accumulation of years of painstaking collecting. A devotee of the piscatory art, the largest individual collection in his library was that on Angling. Over one hundred different editions of Isaac Walton's, "The Complete Angler," from the very rare first edition, unpretentious in size and appearance, to

HENRY A. SHERWIN
Patron, Western Reserve Historical Society
Died June 26th, 1916



luxurious extra-illustrated copies, bound in the finest leather, stood side by side on the library shelves with thousands of other works on this subject. His collection on angling is one of the most extensive of its kind in the world. But Mr. Sherwin's collecting was not confined simply to books on angling; he was a member of the Grolier Club of New York; the Caxton Club of Chicago, and the Rowfant Club of this city, and had full sets of their publications. Intensely fond of all that was artistic in book making, many of the choicest specimens of typography were to be found in his collections, many exquisitely bound under his own direction, whenever possible, by the world's greatest living binders; to these he added specimens of the noted binders of the past. But Mr. Sherwin had other activities that claimed his time, and his ever ready philanthropy. As a member of the First Baptist Church of Cleveland, he was interested in all the various lines of work of his denomination, generously giving of his means.

As a director of The Cleveland Trust Company and the First National Bank, and as a trustee of the Society for Savings, he freely gave wise counsel, gathered from the experience of his fruitful business career. As the chairman of the first board of directors of the Railroad Y. M. C. A., and later as trustee in the Y. M. C. A., and as a valued member of the board of trustees of Denison University, he was keenly interested in all that pertained to the educational and moral uplift of young men. As one has stated most appropriately, "he was a man of business ideals, always most generous and broad minded in all his dealings."

Mr. Sherwin married in 1865 Miss Frances Smith of Cleveland, who survives him with their three daughters, Miss Belle Sherwin, Miss Prudence Sherwin and Mrs. Orville W. Prescott.

WASHINGTON WALLACE BOYNTON

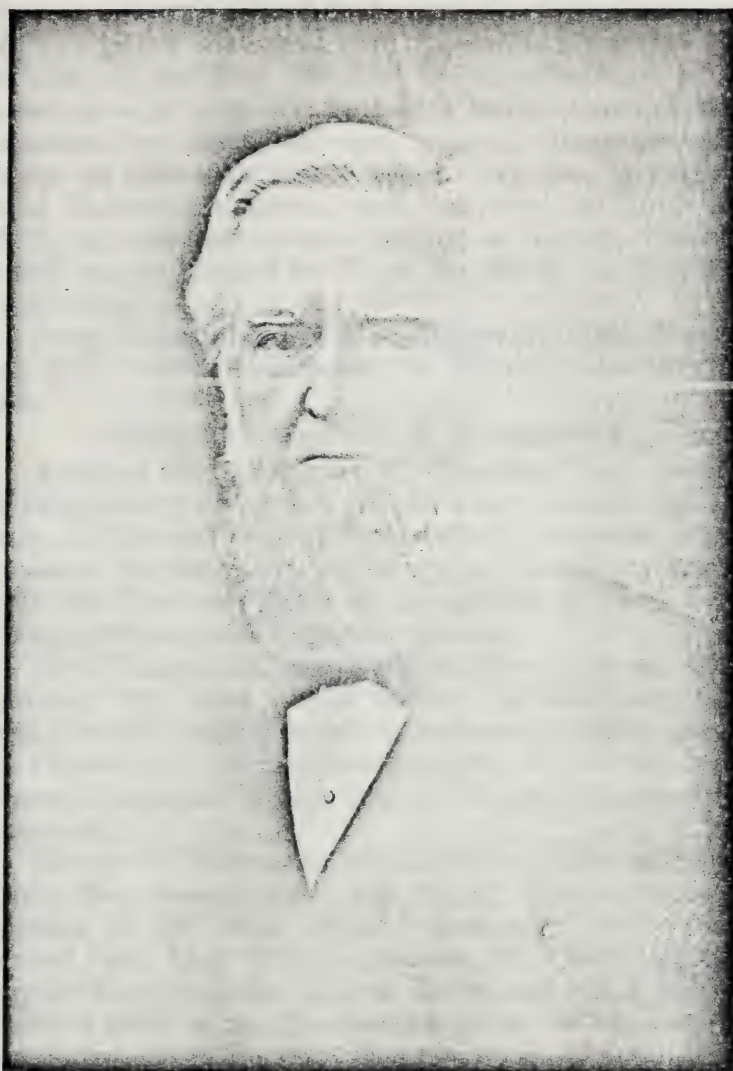
Judge Washington Wallace Boynton, one of the most prominent members of the Bar in Cleveland; five years a member of the Supreme Court of Ohio; life long friend and member of The Western Reserve Historical Society, passed away June 27th, 1916.

Judge Boynton, son of General Lewis D. and Ruth (Wellman) Boynton, was born in Russia Township, Lorain County, Ohio, January 27th, 1833. His parents were born and lived in Belgrade, Maine, until 1826, when they moved to Ohio, where they had purchased a large tract of land. His direct ancestor emigrated to America in 1632.

Judge Boynton as a boy received his education from the common and select schools of the district in which he lived. At sixteen we find him teaching in the district school. Later, in 1855-57, as the head of a select school in Amherst Township; from 1857-64 he served as County Examiner of school teachers. In 1856, having read law for a number of years, he was admitted to the Bar, but did not commence practice until 1858. From 1859-64 he served as Prosecutor of Lorain County. On February 9th, 1869, Governor R. B. Hayes appointed him Judge of the Common Pleas Court, which position he held until 1877. His district covered Lorain, Medina and Summit counties. On February 9th, 1877, he became a member of the Supreme Court of Ohio, which office he held until ill health compelled him to relinquish it in November, 1883. Shortly afterward he located in Cleveland and formed a partnership with his first partner of the sixties, Judge C. C. Hale, and in 1888, N. T. Horr was admitted to the firm. It was then known as Boynton, Hale & Horr. After the resignation of Judge Hale in 1892, in order to accept a Circuit Judgeship, the firm name was changed to Boynton & Horr, and continued as such until 1897, when Judge Boynton retired.

Thus briefly is the record of forty years active

JUDGE W. W. BOYNTON
Life Member, Western Reserve Historical Society
Died June 27th, 1916



work in public service. Judge Boynton was ever a fearless opponent of all that was unjust, and immoral. He was gifted with wonderful power as a speaker and pleader at the Bar. Besides his deep interest at all times in legal matters, he had a more than ordinary fondness for historical and general literature, and wrote at different times several articles, largely on local historical matters, and delivered on July 4th, 1876, an address on the history of Lorain County, which was published as Tract No. 83 of our Society's publications.

Judge Boynton married at Ridgeville, Ohio, December 20th, 1859, Miss Betsey A. Terrell, who survives him.

GENERAL GEORGE A. GARRETSON

Another revered citizen of Cleveland, and member of this Society, who has passed away within the past year, is General George Armstrong Garretson, whose business life for many years was so closely connected with the National Bank of Commerce at West Sixth (Water) Street and Superior Avenue.

Gen. Garretson was born at New Lisbon, Ohio, January 30, 1844. His father, Hiram Garretson, within a few years thereafter, removed with his family to Cleveland, and became engaged in the wholesale grocery business in the firm of Hanna, Garretson & Company.

George A. Garretson was barely eighteen when our Civil War commenced, but he at once enlisted as private in the 84th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and served from May 26 to September 20, 1862. He then applied for admission to West Point, and was appointed cadet in 1863. Upon his graduation in 1867 he received appointment as Second Lieutenant in the 4th U. S. Artillery, and served in that capacity until his resignation January 1, 1870.

At his father's desire, he returned to Cleveland and became connected with the wholesale grocery business but in 1875 he entered upon a more congenial business

career with The Second National Bank. In this bank and its successor, The National Bank of Commerce, he served as clerk, assistant cashier, cashier, vice-president, and, from 1890 to his death, as its president.

He had kept his interest in military affairs, however, and was a member of Troop A, Ohio Cavalry, serving as its captain from 1887 to 1892. At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, he offered his services to President McKinley, and received his appointment as Brigadier General of Volunteers, May 27, 1898. He served in Cuba and Porto Rico, and received his honorable discharge November 30, the same year.

General Garretson was an officer in several banking and other business organizations of Cleveland, and was also interested in many of Cleveland's charitable institutions, as the Red Cross, the Fresh Air Camp, Lakeside Hospital, etc.

He was twice married. His first wife, Anna Scowden Garretson, whom he married in 1870, died in 1886. In 1888 he was married to Emma R. Ely, daughter of George H. Ely. His wife, and their three children, Margaret Ely, now Mrs. Henry A. Raymond, George Ely, and Hiram, survived him, at his death Dec. 8, 1916.

The Memorial to General Garretson adopted by the members of the Veteran Association of Troop A, embodies an estimate of his personal character, which can be heartily endorsed by all his associates in business and social life. We quote the following:

Words are inadequate either to express our admiration for his dauntless courage, his love of country, his nobility of character, or our affection for his endearing qualities and tenderness of heart. There is no member of this Veteran Association of Troop A who does not owe him an inextinguishable debt of honor and of gratitude for the shining example he set before us of a fine and fearless soldier, of a noble and patriotic citizen, of a courteous and considerate gentleman, and of a warm and affectionate friend.

(It is a coincidence that the chairman of the committee which prepared these resolutions from which we have just quoted, was James H. Hoyt, who so soon after followed General Garretson to the beyond.)

VIRGIL P. KLINE

Life Member, Western Reserve Historical Society

Died January 18th, 1917



VIRGIL PHILIP KLINE

Virgil Philip Kline, life member and a constant contributor to our work, died Thursday, January 18th, 1917, at his home, 2733 East Overlook Road, Cleveland Heights.

His entire life was spent in Ohio and on the Western Reserve, having been born at Congress, Ohio, November 3rd, 1844. At the age of six the family moved to Conneaut, Ohio. Mr. Kline's college education was commenced at Hiram College, Ohio, but finished at Williams College, where he graduated in 1866. Soon after graduation he entered a law office in Cleveland and studied law; later he taught school for two years at Cuyahoga Falls. He returned to Cleveland and was admitted to the Bar in 1870, and became the partner of Albert Slade. Later he was the head of the law firm, Kline, Carr, Tolles & Goff, and since April, 1913, was the senior member of the firm, Kline, Clevenger, Buss & Holliday. For many years he was the personal attorney of Mr. J. D. Rockefeller and for the Standard Oil Company of Ohio.

Mr. Kline is survived by his widow, two daughters, Mrs. Dr. Carlisle Pope and Mrs. Charles S. Brooks, and his son, Virgil P. Kline, Jr., of Clarksburg, West Virginia.

The following expressive tribute of his worth, ability, and character was paid to him by his fellow associates on the Board of Directors of The Cleveland Trust Company, with which board he had served from the first.

It was a rare privilege to be associated with Mr. Kline. He was a lawyer of great ability, possessed of the finest sense of professional honor. He was an eloquent advocate, an uncompromising foe of every form of sham and hypocrisy. He hated vice; he was a man of pure life—a lover of justice and fair play. He believed in and practiced the highest standards of business morality. He was a firm believer in democracy; he loved his country, his state and the city in which he won his professional success, but above all he loved his friends, his family and his fireside. He was a scholarly

man, widely read in the best literature of all countries and all ages; he was a high-minded, public-spirited citizen, possessed of sound judgment and a rare knowledge of men. He was a delightful companion, a loyal friend, a courtly, honorable, courteous, cultured gentleman.

Words are all too feeble to express our admiration and respect for him and the deep sense of loss we feel at his death.

MRS. MARY McARTHUR TUTTLE

Mrs. Mary McArthur Tuttle, a life member and highly esteemed friend of the Society, passed away at the old family home at Hillsboro, Ohio, September 4th, 1916.

Mary McArthur Thompson, born November 5th, 1849, was the daughter of Eliza Jane Trimble and James Henry Thompson. On her father's side she was descended from John Burton Thompson, a captain in the Revolutionary War; on her mother's side she was the granddaughter of Allen Trimble, former Governor of Ohio.

In the early eighteen hundreds her grandfather Allen Trimble, moved to Hillsboro, on to lands purchased by his father, and there erected the home in which the family lived so many years, and where Mrs. Tuttle was living with her sister Mrs. Rives and her brother Henry, at the time of her death.

On July 6th, 1875, Mary McArthur Thompson married Herbert Tuttle, who at the time of his death was Professor of International Law at Cornell University. Their married life was a most happy one; both were deeply interested in literature and history, and in addition to this, Mrs. Tuttle had an intense love for art, having graduated from an art school in Cincinnati.

Like her mother, who was known all over this country as the "Mother of the Crusade," she was deeply interested in all things tending to aid in the temperance movement.

It was through the kind efforts of Mrs. Tuttle and those of her sister and brother that the personal papers and records of her grandfather, Governor Allen

As a result, the following conditions must be met:

Trimble, were turned over, a few years ago, to The Western Reserve Historical Society for permanent preservation.

TRIPS

Trips in the interest of the Society, owing to the pressure of work in the library, have been confined to a very few.

A trip East was made in order to investigate the facilities provided in the various libraries of New York City for the care of maps, manuscripts, etc., in connection with the equipping of our own manuscript room and vault. On this trip several large accessions were made to our collections through special funds that were provided for this purpose.

Valuable additions were also obtained through exchange with the American Numismatic Society, the American Geographical Society of New York, and the New York Public Library.

Later, another trip was made which resulted in securing for the Society the papers of General Braxton Bragg.

A few trips have been made to different places on the Reserve, bringing in to us quite valuable additions, probably the most extensive one being from the home of Miss Anne Hitchcock at Burton, Ohio.

This last month, as chairman of the Ohio College Library section, your director attended a meeting of the Ohio College Association at Columbus.

EQUIPMENT

In our late bulletin we called attention to the fund generously provided by Messrs. C. W. Bingham, Ralph King, William G. Mather, D. Z. Norton, William P. Palmer and J. H. Wade, for furnishing the vault and manuscript room with steel cases. I know of no one thing we have needed more, than some safe place for the proper preservation of our valuable historical documents.

In the equipment of this room we have arranged

for cases for our maps, broadsides, atlases, portraits, pictures, etc. In the vault will be housed the rarer books and manuscripts for further protection from fire. In order that the vault may be kept at a medium temperature a steel day-gate has been installed, permitting the free circulation of air, at the same time giving ample protection. We hope to have the cases erected soon after our annual meeting.

A steel cabinet for holding our coin and medal collection has been received through the courtesy of Mr. Ambrose Swasey.

Last May Mr. Ralph King purchased for the Society another steel table for reference readers, thus enabling us to replace an old wooden table with one matching our new equipment.

Hon. T. E. Burton, on his removal to New York, left with the Society his typewriter and desk which will be greatly appreciated by our cataloging department.

Mr. D. Z. Norton has very generously provided funds for a new flag and a flag staff, which have been placed in front of the building. This is a much appreciated gift as it covers a need which we have felt for a number of years.

PUBLICATIONS

During the year *Tract No. 96* was published, consisting of the "Annual Reports of the Society," and "The Connecticut Land Company: a study in the beginnings of colonization of the Western Reserve," by Claude L. Shepard, with accompanying documents, edited by Professor Elbert J. Benton. This publication, we believe is the best we have as yet issued. In March we issued *Bulletin No. 2*.

We have been pleased to receive the many words of appreciation concerning these publications that have come from our members, as well as from the various societies and organizations with whom we exchange.

This year it is our intention to publish a number of letters and documents pertaining to the Ohio Land

Company's affairs which were among the papers acquired by the Society some years ago from descendants of Col. John May, who came to Ohio in 1788 and was the agent for the Ohio Land Company at Marietta. We believe these papers bearing so intimately on the first settlement in Ohio will be of interest to all our members.

MUSEUM

The museum seems to be growing in popularity, the attendance this year was over 20,000. The visits to the museum by schools and other organizations of the city show that it is being used more and more as a means of instruction. This year we have had visits from nearly fifty schools, often embracing large classes; the year before the number was twenty-seven. These are not mere sight seeing expeditions, but in nearly every case the scholars come with memorandum book and pencil and take notes, for papers to be written later at home, on the particular collection or collections which had been assigned to them for investigation.

MUSEUM ADDITIONS

A large number of interesting items have been added to the Museum:

From Mr. Horace H. Miller, Canton, Ohio, we have received some Indian wampun; an old-fashioned tuning fork such as was used in the early days in churches before they had organs to give the pitch to the singers; also other items of interest.

Mr. Wm. Ritzel, of Warren, Ohio. A gavel made from timber taken from the house in which President McKinley was born.

Miss Baker, of Dawning School. An old-fashioned wooden grain shovel.

Mr. C. W. Rutenbeck. The works of five watches, all over 150 years old.

Miss A. L. Sherwin. Seven stuffed birds, several badges, etc.

Mrs. M. S. Askue, Youngstown. A Pike's Peak bottle, a specimen of interesting early glassware.

Mr. R. W. Williams, Elyria. A valuable collection from Nicaragua, consisting of the skin of a boa constrictor, items of pottery ware, and many items of household utensils representing Nicaraguan handicraft.

Mr. W. C. Talmage. A beautiful serape from Mexico. These scarfs are worn by the high officials of Mexico. Also a fly-swatter from Egypt, and an old wooden dash churn, made by his grandfather, Mr. Henry Talmage of Center, Morrow County. It is very pleasing to receive the utensils that were a part of every early pioneer family's household outfit.

Miss Anne Hitchcock of Burton. A foot-warmer, a pair of early Colonial shoe-buckles, candlestick, and other household utensils of the early days.

Mrs. L. E. Holden. An extensive collection of Indian pottery consisting of some 58 pieces, also five Indian skulls from Peru.

Mrs. J. D. Williamson. A large plaster bust of her great-grandfather, Thomas Mills Day, who was at one time Secretary of State of Connecticut.

Mr. H. A. Streater. A barometer that hung for years on the porch of the old Streater home which was torn down this past winter.

Mrs. C. K. Halle. A double knife brought from Egypt enclosed in a case elaborately decorated with beads.

Mr. W. D. Howells, Jr. A rare medallion or bust of Abraham Lincoln, in a contemporary frame, a relic of the sixties.

Mr. A. F. Harvey. Three examples of wood carving by Herkimer, two being large elk heads with the natural horns attached, the third representing a mediaeval king's head.

Mr. Wm. G. Dietz. A collection of seven old pistols including one pair of duelling pistols, also an iron tomahawk.

Mr. C. W. Fitch. Two walking sticks of Judge James Kingsbury which had been presented to Mr. Fitch by Ellen A. Parton, grand-daughter of Judge Kingsbury.

Mrs. J. C. Gerould. An old brass warming-pan.

Dr. Elroy M. Avery. A collection of Civil War envelopes.

Mr. G. W. F. Blanchfield.—A pair of shoe-buckles worn in Colonial times.

Mrs. Clara J. Craft. Some homespun linen made at Chester Cross Roads by Mrs. J. L. Humiston over 70 years ago.

Mr. S. P. Baldwin. Ten pieces of Aztec pottery.

To our snuff-box collection we have added several from the O. J. Hodge collection, also one with the portrait of William Henry Harrison on the cover.

PORTRAITS AND PICTURES

A larger addition than usual has been made to this important branch of our work. With the installation of our steel cases we will be able to get the unframed pictures together and listed, and with this foundation work done we can from year to year keep accurate record of the additions and the number in this collection.

Among those received this year are several hundred that have been added to the Wm. P. Palmer collection on the Civil War, consisting of portraits of generals, battle scenes, framed rosters, etc., also a large collection of portraits of Lincoln, many of which came with the collection of Lincoln medals mentioned elsewhere in this report.

Mr. George H. Beckwith, of Toledo, a son of the late Dr. David H. Beckwith, of this city, has presented the Society with an oil portrait of his father, also a large oil painting of the old Lock House on the canal and the shipyards across the Cuyahoga River, at the foot of Seneca Street Hill, as they appeared some sixty years ago.

Mrs. F. W. Throssell. A framed picture of President Garfield.

Mr. F. M. Chandler has presented from his father's estate a framed group of pictures concerning the Cassie L. Chadwick case, which includes the photograph of the forged checks, portraits of the participants, etc.

From the estate of Col. John Gibbons, through the kindness of Charles and Frank Gibbons, have been received framed pictures of Lincoln and his family, George Washington, General Grant and family, General Garfield, Colonel Gibbons and others.

Miss Louise Claffin. A framed picture of William Ellery Curtis.

Mr. H. A. Streator. A collection of nine portraits of Civil War generals and two photo groups of Clevelanders.

Mrs. C. H. Smith. A framed portrait of Gen. J. A. Williamson.

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Mr. and Mrs. S. D. Dodge. A group picture of the "Ivanhoe Boat Club" made about 1848.

Mr. E. L. Harris. A frame photo group of the members of the Cleveland Board of Education.

Mr. Clifford Fuller. A painting of the Cleveland harbor with the tug Champion.

From The Bank of Commerce. A large photograph album of the Directors of the old Western Reserve National Bank, containing portraits of James Pickands, Samuel Mather, J. H. Hoyt, Calvary Morris, E. P. Williams, John F. Rust, H. H. Brown, C. W. Bingham, S. H. Chisholm, J. K. Bole, J. S. Colby, D. Z. Norton, Darius W. Caldwell, G. S. Russell, and H. C. Rouse.

Mr. P. W. Harvey. Thirteen photographs of lake craft that were wrecked or destroyed in the storm on Lake Superior, November, 1905.

Hon. T. E. Burton. A framed certificate of his appointment as senator, a cartoon of himself, and a framed photograph of the Kansas commissioners of 1856.

Mr. Wm. G. Dietz. A framed picture entitled "Reading of the Declaration of Independence, Boston, July 18, 1776." Also, on deposit, a framed picture of a caravan of early settlers traveling to Ohio.

Mrs. Keeler, the widow of Judge Harvey Keeler. A large framed portrait of Benjamin F. Wade. Mrs. Keeler's father was an intimate friend of Mr. Wade and considered this a most excellent likeness. Mrs. Keeler has also sent in a framed picture of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mrs. J. C. Gerould. Eight framed pictures of historical subjects.

Mr. Allen D. Severance. Two framed pictures of early Cleveland, made in 1830, and several photographs.

Mr. W. C. Talmage. A collection of enlarged photographs illustrative of the life of the beaver, to accompany the beaver collection presented by him the year before.

NUMISMATIC AND MEDALLIC COLLECTIONS

In no one year of the history of the Society has such a large increase been made in these collections as during the year just closed. In our last report we called attention to our numismatic collections and asked those of our members or friends who might have

specimens of old paper money, coins or medals, if they would kindly donate them to us. Through this published request we have received a number of accessions.

We have now a nucleus for an extensive collection in this line. I do not need to dwell on the importance of this, or the appropriateness of our trying to make it as complete as possible.

The usefulness of these collections has been well demonstrated this year, as has been shown elsewhere in the report under the head of work done in the Society by the historical students of Western Reserve University.

The following excerpt from our last Bulletin gives a brief account of three of the most valuable additions in this line.

GREEK AND ROMAN COINS

Mr. Ambrose Swasey presented to the Society two collections of rare coins. The first, some 900 Greek and Roman coins, consists of those from the earliest period of the Greek and Roman coinage down to the extinction of the Roman Empire. In this collection are included about fifty specimens of the coinage of Judaea, embracing a fine selection, from the time of Simon Maccabeus, B.C. 141-135, to that of the captivity under Domitian, A.D. 85. Another group of some thirty specimens consists of the coins of Pheidon, King of Argos, 700 B.C., and later Aegian coins. These silver coins are among the earliest issued. They were struck in Aegina and are irregular in form, with a tortoise—the symbol of Astarte, the Phoenician goddess of trade—on one side and on the other merely an incuse square made by the upper of two dies, between which the “flan” or plain piece of metal was placed. The coinage consists of the obol, the three obol, the six obol or drachma, and the double drachma. The drachma originally weighed 93 grains, but was gradually reduced to 66 grains.

The second collection, likewise the gift of Mr. Swasey, consists of some 1300

CHINESE AND JAPANESE COINS

The date of the beginning of Chinese coinage is uncertain, but it is claimed to have commenced nearly 1000 years B. C. The earliest forms were patterned after various

articles that had been used for barter from prehistoric times, such as spades or hoes, knives or swords, rings or amulets, nut-graters, shirts, bells, hats, etc. Of these earlier forms there are some twenty-five specimens of the knife or razor money, ten specimens of shirt money, one of the grater, one of the bell, fourteen pieces of bridge money, an extensive assortment of open work or amulet coins, two pieces of hat money (rare early Korean issues), and a large collection of "cash" issued during the various dynasties, from the earliest down to the present time.

To this collection Mr. Swasey has added a fine specimen of a note of the Ming dynasty (1368-1399). This large Chinese paper note, one of the earliest authentic known pieces of printed paper money, is $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in size, and is printed on mulberry paper of Chinese invention, and probably from wooden blocks. This bill was printed nearly a century before Gutenberg invented printing in Europe. The Chinese, it is claimed, did book printing as early as 932 A.D., and used wooden blocks for printing pictures a century before that date.

These valuable collections that Mr. Swasey has so willingly purchased for us, add very extensively to those already owned by the Society, and have been the basis of a number of interesting exhibits and talks to the historical students of the Western Reserve University.

LINCOLN MEDALS

The third collection above mentioned belongs to medals, and is the gift of our president. This exceedingly unique and rare collection consists of a little over 400 different Lincoln medals, issued during the life, or in commemoration of Abraham Lincoln. It was formed through years of careful searching and gathering together by a private collector in the East. Upon his death the collection was offered by his Executor to the Society, and purchased by Mr. Palmer for us. In addition to the above number of Lincoln medals, there were about eighty duplicates, also thirty Lincoln photographic campaign badges, and one hundred and eleven other historical medals.

This at once gives the Society as large a collection of Lincoln medals, probably, as there is in any public institution in America, excepting the one in the American Numismatic Society in New York.

Other accessions during the year are as follows:

From Mr. David L. Evans. Nine Roman coins.

The American Numismatic Society. A miscellaneous collection of Colonial and Continental paper money.

Mr. Wm. E. Cushing. A collection of Continental currency.

The Michigan Historical Commission. A small collection of Michigan bank bills.

Whitehead and Hoag. Seven Lincoln medals.

Mrs. J. C. Gerould. A small collection of paper money.

Mrs. Stiles H. Curtiss. A collection consisting of 233 copper, 42 silver, 2 gold, and 2 Roman coins, a Washington medal and 56 pieces of paper money.

Mr. C. W. Bingham. A 12½c paper bill of the city of Cleveland, 1816, also a small collection of Michigan bank bills.

Rev. Ralph Bailey. A medal of Stonewall Jackson that was dug up with some other coins on his father's plantation.

Miss Valentine VanTassel. A \$10 Kirtland (Mormon) bill.

Mrs. Clara J. Craft. A small India copper coin.

Mr. George H. Ely of Elyria. Five early bank bills.

Hon. T. E. Burton. A bronze inauguration medal of President Taft, a 1916 Republican National Convention bronze badge of the Burton delegates; a silver medal issued to himself at the "Centenaire de la banque de France," a bronze medal of the second Pan-American Scientific Congress, 1915-16; also a collection of five different issues of French five-franc pieces, and a small collection of foreign copper coins.

Adelbert College Library. A large medal of Thos. F. Bayard, ambassador at St. James, 1893-97.

Mr. L. A. Murfey. A set of the bills of the Bank of Ohio in the following denominations: \$1, \$2, \$3, \$5, and \$10. Also a framed shield of fractional currency of the United States.

Mr. C. A. Vogt. Three pieces of fractional paper currency.

Also there has been added to the collection:

Two fifteen pound notes of the State of Massachusetts Bay, June 1, 1779, a collection of bills of the Republic of Texas in denominations of \$1, \$2, \$3, \$5, \$20, \$50, \$100 and \$500, a set of Villa currency in the denominations of 25c, 50c, \$1, \$5 and \$10, and ninety pieces of Chinese paper money.

We have also been endeavoring to complete the insignia of the various patriotic organizations. To this collection have been added:

Through the gift of Col. John P. Nicholson, 19 badges and insignias, including a few of the G.A.R.

From Mrs. Perry L. Hobbs we have received the insignia of the "Military Order of the Loyal Legion," and also one of the "Dames of the Loyal Legion."

THE LIBRARY

The general work of the library varies very little from year to year, the new items that come in by gift are looked up, and if duplicates, or undesirable, are sent to the duplicate room; if needed for the library they are sent up to the cataloger where they are put through the various necessary steps to make them a part of our permanent collection. This is the regular routine work, and the amount that can be accomplished must depend on the number of helpers we employ.

In the reference library, the work is getting heavier from year to year, owing to the increasing number that make use of our collections.

The genealogical collections have always been used to a large extent, but this year the most noted increase has been in the use of our newspaper files. The people of Cleveland are gradually learning that our library is practically the only one where these files, to any extent, can be consulted.

The work with the students of the Western Reserve University has been most interesting and we believe profitable to them. Under the direction of Dr. Benton a number of interesting exercises have been assigned to the students, requiring them to make their own examination of source material, then to place in writing the results of their observations and conclusions. It has been our pleasure to look over a number of these papers and we have been afforded great satisfaction in reading what they have written, and noting their

words of appreciation for the opportunity of having our collections to work in.

May I briefly call attention to a few subjects assigned.

First. The development of our national currency. This was divided into several exercises:

(a) A preliminary exercise leading up to the beginning of all coinage, starting with the transition from means of barter, then to the crude coins of the ancients. This was illustrated to the students by exhibits of the earliest coinage of the world, such as the Chinese and the Aegina coins, the Chinese earliest coinage having taken the form of items or utensils used formerly in barter. Further exhibits were made of the wampun of the American Indians, which to a large extent formed their medium of exchange. The beaver skin, which was so largely adopted as a basis of value in trade in our colonies, was illustrated by means of early manuscripts and Colonial records, showing the relative value of many articles of common use, and of other skins in comparison with this standard.

(b) An exercise on the Colonial currency. For this, the earliest coinage of America, including the pine-tree shilling of Massachusetts, the copper coinage and paper currency of the individual states were exhibited, and we were able, for the period, to show fair examples, from our numismatic collection, of nearly all the different types.

Later exhibits were: the coinage of the Continental period,—of the period succeeding the Continental through the various state and private bank issues, the "wild-cat" issues etc., up to the period of the Civil War. The last exercise embraced the currency of the Civil War period, and in our exhibit we called attention to the shortage of small currency at that time, and the use at first of postage stamps encased in a brass covering to protect them from damage, and then the issues by the government of the fractional postal currency,

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store issues, the "shinplasters," the copper tokens, and the greenbacks.

Other exercises assigned were: the determination of William Lloyd Garrison's principles and policy from a study of the file of the "Liberator," the great anti-slavery newspaper, edited by him;—the determination of the rights of employers over laborers, from a perusal of the eighteenth century newspapers;—readings assigned in the colonial records and statutes. One exercise covered the material in the museum that would illustrate Colonial industrial processes, which included the household utensils of the early days; another exercise called for an examination of Colonial newspapers and the early American Almanacs.

I call attention to these things to show how our collections can be turned to practical use, and as fast as our time and means will permit, we want to develop along these lines. We feel satisfied that this group of some eighty students have formed a different idea along the lines of these exercises from those who did not have the advantage of our collections, and in a number of cases they have become deeply interested in our work and in later years the seed that has been planted will bring forth fruit to the Society.

Another interesting feature of this year's work has been the opportunity to talk to the young ladies of the Normal School of Cleveland. These future teachers of our public schools were sent in divisions of some fifty at a time and it was my pleasure to talk to them on the development of the old Northwest, the formation of the Western Reserve and the beginnings of Cleveland. These talks which I would hardly dignify by the term lecture, were illustrated by the use of our early maps.

The Library School of the University made its annual visit to the library, and in addition to explaining our work and methods and showing the diversity and uniqueness of our collection, a talk was given to them

on the Shaker collection as typifying a well rounded out collection on a single subject.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Some three years ago a few friends of the Society provided funds for purchasing along special lines, and since then, from time to time, have added to these funds. I know from the willingness with which these men have responded that it has been a pleasure to them to do this, and the collections standing in their names are increasing steadily from year to year. I cannot sufficiently express the gratitude of the Society for the aid these gentlemen are giving us, for it has made it possible to add to our collections many rare and valuable books that we could not purchase from our income.

It would be most advantageous if we could add to the list of these special funds. May I suggest a few divisions of our collections that need such aid? In the library we should develop along the following lines:

(a) The War of 1812 division. (b) Although we have extensive collections of some of the different states, yet there are many gaps in town histories that we need, especially of those states with which Ohio has been so closely connected, viz., Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Virginia. Two to three hundred dollars a year devoted to a single state would help wonderfully. (c) A fund, and the aid of all our members, in gathering material concerning the war the United States is just entering upon, the vastness and importance of which no one can now foretell; but now is the time to begin collecting this material. (d) Books on the American Indians. On this subject we have spent very little during the last quarter of a century.

Another division, not in books but in numismatics, is worthy of the aid of a number. Our collections need rounding out. In the Continental and Colonial currency there are gaps that could be filled with small

outlays and make the exhibit more complete. Of course there is no limit to what might be spent on coins, but a little each year spent judiciously would aid much.

SPECIAL FUNDS

OTTO MILLER FUND

The funds that Mr. Otto Miller has provided us with from time to time have been devoted exclusively to purchasing genealogies and other books containing family histories and records. This is the only resource we have for this purpose and has been of great value to us, as it has enabled us from time to time to pick up some of the genealogies or town records that have been urgently needed by users of the library.

This year the following books have been placed to the credit of this fund:

- Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America.* Bolton.
- Ancestral Chart of William Lincoln Palmer.*
- Ancestry of Washington.* Waters.
- Some Descendants of William Palmer.*
- Index of Honor Rolls.* Lineage Book of the D.A.R.
- Jacob Little's Discourse,* Granville, 1853.
- The Reverend Alexander Miller of Va.* and some of his descendants.
- History and Genealogies.* By W. H. Miller, Richmond, Ky., 1907.
- The American Genealogist,* Vol. 1, 12 Nos.
- The Van Pelt Genealogy.*
- Documentary History of Rhode Island.* Chapin.
- The Church Genealogy.*
- Putnam-Wyandt-Snyder Genealogy.*
- Jewett Genealogy.*
- Fuller Genealogy* in 3 vols.
- Old Families of Salisbury,* Vol. 3.
- The House of Hanna.* By Sarah A. Hanna, Brookville, Ind., 1906.
- Genealogy.* A Weekly Journal of American Ancestry. Vols. 1-5 incl.
- Humphreys, A. L. *A Handbook to County Bibliography.* London, 1917.

J. H. WADE FUND

Some three years ago Mr. J. H. Wade established a fund (which he later increased) in order that we might round out our collection on New Jersey history. We were especially weak in the town histories of New Jersey and the generous recognition of our needs on the part of Mr. Wade is enabling us to gradually build up a suitable collection on this state.

We have purchased from this fund a number of exceedingly valuable books; perhaps the most valuable one, being a typewritten copy of the old manuscript record book of Elizabeth, New Jersey.

The other books added to this collection are as follows:

- Wheeler, E. S. *Scheyichbi and the Strand*. 1876.
Early Records of the Township of Orange, with biographical notes. 1897.
Urquhart, F. J. *Short History of Newark*. 1916.
Philhower, C. A. *Brief History of Chatham, N. J.* 1914.
Brown, W. M. *Biographical, Genealogical and Descriptive History of New Jersey*. 1900.
Nelson, William. *Biographical Cyclopedia of New Jersey*. 2 vols. 1913.
Chambers, T. F. *Early Germans of New Jersey*. 1895.
Thomas, Gabriel. *Historical Description of West-New-Jersey*. 1698. (Reprinted 1848.)
Wall, J. P. *New Brunswick*. 1908.
Wall, J. P. *Old Markets of New Brunswick*. 1914.
Barber & Howe. *Historical Collections of New Jersey*. 1844.
Brown, E. S. *History of Nutley, N. J.* 1907.
Corwin, E. T. *Historical Discourse on Occasion of the Centennial Anniversary of the Reformed Dutch Church of Millstone*. 1866.
Atkinson, Joseph. *History of Newark*. 1878.
Stearns, J. F. *First Church in Newark; Historical Discourses*. 1853.
History of the Reformed Church at Peapack, N. J. 1881.

F. F. PRENTISS FUND

Mr. Prentiss has very graciously added to the fund furnished some few years ago, which we have been using to purchase Ohio items exclusively, as they have been offered from time to time.

With this fund we have added to the Library 34 books and 104 pamphlets bearing on Ohio, which were lacking in our collections. Among these books are a number of exceedingly rare Ohio imprints, representing the early presses in different Ohio towns; one book obtained I have been unable, thus far, to find trace of another copy listed anywhere, although I have a faint impression of having seen a copy in some collection. It is John Kilbourne's *Columbian Geography*, published in Chillicothe by Nashee and Derby in 1815. We are pleased to get any books representing early printing, especially in Ohio.

H. A. SHERWIN FUND

The fund which was established by Mr. H. A. Sherwin, just before he died, for the purchase of books on Mormonism, has been the means of bringing into the library some forty books and pamphlets. As fast as the early Mormon books are offered to us, at prices which seem reasonable, we have added them to our collection.

During the year the following were purchased:

Talmage, Dr. James E. *The Book of Mormon*. Two Lectures.

Thompson, Charles. *Evidences in Proof of the Book of Mormon Being a Divinely Inspired Record*.

Das Buch Mormon. Hamburg, 1852.

Codman, John. *The Mormon Country*.

(Mackay, Chas.) *The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints*. 3d ed.

Waite, Mrs. C. V. *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem*.

Chandless, William. *A Visit to Salt Lake*.

Freece, Hans. P. *The Letters of an Apostate Mormon to His Son*.

- Ward, Austin N. *Male Life Among the Mormons.*
 Smith, Joseph. *Mormon Portraits.*
 Thomas, John. *Sketch of the Mormons.*
 Dougal. *The Mormon Prophet.* 1899.
The Latter Day Saints' Millennial Star. Vol. 13.
 "Mormonism." Conybeare. *The Edinburgh Review.*
 London, 1854.
Mormonism Exposed. Joseph Smith. By John Bowes.
 London (1850).
 Richards, Franklin D. *Doctrines of the Latter-Day Saints.* London, 1857.
 Taylder, T. W. P. *The Mormon's Own Book.* London.
 1855.
 Taylder, T. W. P. *The Mormon's Own Book.* London.
 1857.
 Pratt, P. P. *Late Persecution.* 1840. New York.
 Snow, Lorenzo. *The Only Way to Be Saved.* London.
 1854.
Bible View of Polygamy.
 Brown, Benjamin. *Testimonies for the Truth.* Liverpool.
 1853.
 Dunn, Rev. Ballard S. *The Twin Monsters.* New
 York. 3d ed.
 DeLeon, Edwin. *Mormonism.* 2 vols.
 Cannon, F. J. *Brigham Young and His Mormon Empire.*
 N. Y. (c1913.)
 Caswall, Henry. *The Prophet of the 19th Century.* Lon-
 don. 1843.
Mormonism Unveiled. Hartford. 1881.
 Lamb, M. T. *The Golden Bible; or the Book of Mormon.*
 N. Y. 1887.
 Pratt, P. P. *A Voice of Warning and Instruction to All
 People.* 6th ed. Edinburgh. 1847.
The Seer. Vol. 1, Nos. 1-12; vol. 2, Nos. 1-6. Pub. by
 Orson Pratt.
Book of Mormon. Liverpool. 1852.
 Paddock, Mrs. A. G. *The Fate of Madam LaTour.*
 N. Y. 1881.
 Pratt, Parley P. *Key to the Science of Theology.* Salt
 Lake City. 1874.
 Pratt, Parley P. *A Voice of Warning and Instruction
 to All People.* Manchester, Eng. 1841.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

Little, J. A. *From Kirtland to Salt Lake City*. Salt Lake City. 1890.

Hawthornthwaite's *Adventures Among the Mormons as an Elder During the Last Eight Years*. Manchester. 1857.

RALPH KING FUND

Mr. Ralph King has put the Society under further obligations to him for a most valuable group of books on Costume. These have been received during the early part of the winter and have proved of great interest and value to our readers. One only need to know the rarity of these fine hand-colored and handsomely bound volumes to appreciate the value of these gifts of Mr. King.

Following is a list of the main titles:

Jacquemin. *Iconographie du Costume*.

Walker. *The Costume of Yorkshire*. 1885.

Costume of Ladies of Paris and London. 1786-1794.
3 vols.

Collecion General Trages de Espania. 1801.

Davey, Richard. *Furs and Fur Garments*.

Freaks of Fashion.

Early American Native Costumes.

Alexander. *The Dress and Manners of the Austrians*.
(1813.)

Reinhardt. *A Collection of Swiss Costumes*. London.

Moeurs et Coutumes des peuples. 2 vols. Paris. 1811.

Costumes of the Canary Islands. London. 1829.

Gallery of Fashion. 1794-1797.

Doyley. *The Costume and Customs of Modern India*.
London.

Types et caracteres Anciens. Paris. 1841.

The Military Costume of Turkey. London.

THE WM. P. PALMER FUND

By means of this fund the collection of books and pamphlets relating to President Lincoln has been enlarged by several hundred during the year. To the collection on the Civil War a number of newspapers

of the Confederate states, which are found only at rare intervals now, have been added, filling in many gaps in our files.

The largest addition to any one division made during the year has been to that of Slavery; an unusually large number of books and pamphlets of the eighteenth century bearing on this subject have been purchased. A number of rare editions of Uncle Tom's Cabin have come in, including copies of the first American and the first English editions.

All told there have been 955 volumes and 2524 pamphlets added to the Wm. P. Palmer Collection on the Civil War during the past year, in addition to the manuscripts, maps, portraits, medals, etc.

J. D. COX FUND

This last year Mr. J. D. Cox has provided us with funds to buy a number of rare Ohio items.

In checking up Thomson's *Bibliography of Ohio*, we find that the Society has the larger proportion of the books there recorded. Among those it lacks are a number of very rare Ohio items, books which only appear at long intervals in the market and then command rather high prices.

Mr. Cox has made it possible for us to obtain a number of these books, and has kindly expressed his willingness to aid us in this direction from time to time. Among the books purchased through this fund, we enumerate the following:

William Smith. *A brief view of the conduct of Pennsylvania for the year 1755*; so far as it affected the general service of the British colonies, particularly the expedition under the late General Braddock. Published in London, 1756.

*Report of the Lords Commissioners for trade and plantations on the petition of the Honourable Thomas Walpole * * * for a grant of lands on the River Ohio for the purpose of erecting a new Government.* London, 1772.

William Smith. *A brief state of the province of Pennsylvania*, in which the conduct of their assemblies for several

years past is impartially examined, and the true cause of the continual encroachments of the French displayed, more especially the secret design of their late unwarrantable invasion and settlement upon the Ohio River. London. 1755.

An answer to a pamphlet entitled, *A brief state of the Province of Pennsylvania*. London. 1755.

Thomas Paine. *Public Good*: being an examination into the claim of Virginia to the vacant Western Territory. Published in Albany. 1780?

Benjamin Franklin. *A true and impartial state of the Province of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia. 1759.

Adam Walker. *A journal of two campaigns of the Fourth Regiment of U. S. Infantry* in the Michigan and Indiana territories, under the command of Col. John P. Boyd and Lieutenant James Miller, in 1811-12. Keene, N. H., 1816. This is a very scarce item and relates to the campaigns in Ohio, and has an extensive account of Col. Ball's fight on the Sandusky River.

Thomas Hutchins. *A Topographical description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina* comprehending the Rivers Ohio, Scioto, etc. London. 1778.

State of the British and French colonies in North America. London. 1755.

In addition to these a number of other Ohio items have been purchased from this fund.

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY

Outside of the gifts received through special funds, probably the largest individual gift this year has been that of Hon. T. E. Burton. This collection has just been received and has not been accessioned or even unpacked. Besides a number of volumes, there are several thousand pamphlets, the accumulation of the many years of active work of Senator Burton in public affairs. We hope as soon as possible to go through this collection and arrange and classify it.

Mr. Daniel R. Taylor has shown a deep interest in our work and on his own initiative, and at his personal expense, has sent out a large number of letters

The first of these is the fact that the
 journal is published by the
 American Psychological Association.

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 American Psychological Association.

The third is the fact that the
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 journal is published by the
 American Psychological Association.

asking for the old text-books of the early days. Already we are beginning to get results from these letters, not only in early text-books, which are becoming more interesting and valuable every year, but also in many other books that have been unearthed in the search. The Society owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Taylor for undertaking to gather together these books that formed the basis of the education of our pioneers.

To this collection Mr. Homer H. Johnson has contributed some nine early text-books that were used by his ancestors. Mrs. J. C. Gerould also contributed a number, besides many other books and manuscripts. Mrs. Mabel Askue gave two early texts.

From Lieutenant Hart, of Tacoma, Washington. *Address on Abraham Lincoln* by C. P. Bissett.

Mrs. A. R. Warner, Cleveland. Knight and Parson's *Business Directory*. Cleveland Illustrated, by Wm. Payne. 1876. Peet's *Business Directory of Cleveland*, 1846-7. This is the second issue of Peet's directory and the third of Cleveland directories. Mr. Peet was Mrs. Warner's grandfather.

Mr. Edwin Swift Balch, Philadelphia, Pa. *Elise Willing Balch*, in Memoriam.

Mr. J. F. Conaway. *The Forty-fourth annual banquet of the Pennsylvania Cavalry*.

The American Geographical Society. Eight volumes of their *Journals*, and about 100 numbers of their *Bulletin*.

Mrs. Brenton B. Babcock. *History of Londonderry* by Rev. Parker.

Mr. S. P. Baldwin is continuing to show the same interest in the Society that his father, Judge Baldwin and his uncle, Mr. David C. Baldwin, constantly maintained through the first thirty years of the Society's history. He has sent in a large number of books this year, among which is a set of the National Geographical Society Publications, bound in half morocco; a number of early Ohio imprints; Professor Wright's *Asiatic Russia*, also Professor Wright's *Story of My Life and Work*. All told we are indebted to Mr. Baldwin for 110 volumes and about 100 pamphlets.

Some of the other gifts to the library have been as follows:

Mr. P. W. Harvey. One hundred and thirty bound volumes of magazines.

Mrs. P. M. Hitchcock. One hundred miscellaneous pamphlets.

Mr. T. S. Knight. Ten miscellaneous volumes.

Mr. C. B. Moore. *Some Aboriginal Sites on Green River, Kentucky.*

Mr. Frank B. Moore. A collection of 100 books and pamphlets given in the name of Caroline E. Moore.

Col. John P. Nicholson. A number of different lots of pamphlets on the Civil War.

O. W. Norton, Chicago. *Attack and Defense of Little Round Top*; Army letters, 1861-65; and, *Two Bugle Calls.*

Miss L. E. Oakley. One of five typewritten copies of her *Biographical Sketch of Calvary Morris*, made for The Cleveland Trust Company.

Mr. James Parmelee, Washington, D. C. *Volume 2 of Stokes' Iconography of Manhattan Island.*

Pennsylvania State Library. *Pennsylvania archives*, seventh series, vols. 1-5. *Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, 2 vols.

Mrs. E. R. Perkins. Thirty volumes of the Presbyterian Home Missionary Society and a number of other volumes.

Malcolm D. Rudd, Lakeville, Conn. *Historical Collections Relating to the Town of Salisbury, Conn.* 2 vols.

Mrs. Frances D. Tenney. *War Diary of Luman Harris Tenney.* 1861-1865.

Mr. William Thompson. *Life of George H. Stewart*; also *Marsh's Story of the Jubilee Singers.*

Mrs. F. W. Throssel. Forty-eight volumes of *Harper's Monthly*, and 39 miscellaneous volumes.

Mr. George C. Wing. *Early Years on the Western Reserve.*

Mr. D. H. Bates, New York City. A number of books and pamphlets bearing on the history of the United States Military Telegraph Corps.

Mr. W. K. Bixby. *Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson.* 1778-1826.

Mr. Eckstein Case. Hon. P. A. Armstrong's *The Piasa, or the Devil Among the Indians.*

Mr. Arthur H. Clark. Sylvester's *Indian Wars of New England*. 3 vols.

Mrs. C. L. Clarke. Chauncey M. Depew's *Some Views on the Threshold of Fourscore*.

Mr. John B. Clement. *Statutes of the Baronial Order of Runnemedede*.

The Cleveland Foundation. Seventeen volumes of the *School Survey of Cleveland*.

The Cleveland Museum of Art. *Catalog of the Inaugural Exhibition*.

Mr. J. A. Coakley. "Foundation Stones of a Great Diocese," by Lambing. *St. Paul's Cathedral Record*. Pittsburgh.

Connecticut Historical Society. *Records of the Connecticut State Society of the Cincinnati*. 1783-1804. Also papers of the Connecticut State Society of the Cincinnati. 1783-1807.

Mrs. Clara J. Craft. One hundred magazines and a number of other interesting items.

Mrs. S. H. Curtiss, whose husband was Secretary of the Society in the early ninety's. 199 volumes and 62 pamphlets, mostly of an historical or genealogical nature.

Hon. C. M. Depew. Nine of his addresses.

Mr. Wm. G. Dietz. About 150 pamphlets on Finance, etc. A bound volume of *Harper's Weekly* covering the Civil War and Spanish American War periods, also a number of other valuable books.

Mr. F. A. Emmerton. *Diary of William Bentley*. 1784-1819. 4 vols.

Mrs. H. C. Ford. Five volumes of the *City Council Proceedings*. 1881-1885. Seven volumes of the *Annual Reports* of Cleveland.

Estate of Col. Chas. Gibbons. Ninety-seven books and 82 pamphlets.

Dr. H. C. Handerson. A set of the publications of the Southern Historical Society. Orth's *History of Cleveland*, 3 vols. Harper's *Pictorial History of the Civil War*.

Mrs. E. L. Harris. Sixty copies of Central High School papers, and 75 miscellaneous periodicals.

Mrs. M. D. Harter. *The Aaron Burr-Expedition; Letters to Ephraim Brown from Silas Brown*. 1805-1815.

GENEALOGICAL COLLECTIONS

Besides the regular subscriptions that we maintain for genealogical magazines from year to year, about 100 genealogies, including those purchased from the Otto Miller fund, have been added to this department.

Of these we note the following:

From The Burton Historical Library, by exchange. Forty-two genealogies.

Mr. J. J. Tyler, of Warren, Ohio. *The Tyler Genealogy*. 2 vols.

Rev. Newton Whitmarsh Bates. A copy of *The Whitmarsh Genealogy*.

The Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America. *The Lineage Books* for 1910, 1911, 1913, 1914 and 1916.

Mr. Wesley B. Burford. A copy of the *Burford Genealogy*.

Mr. J. B. Cabell, Dunbarton, Va. *The Majors and Their Marriages*.

Rev. R. T. Cross. *The Grant Family, 1601-1905*; also *The Partridge Genealogy*.

Mr. Spencer J. Estey. *Isaac Esty of Topsfield and Some of His Descendants*.

Mr. Fred H. Gates. *Stephen Gates and His Descendants*, 1898.

Mr. Charles Hadley. *Notes of the Quaker Family of Hadley*.

Mrs. Mary E. Neal Hanaford. *Family Records of the Hanaford Family*.

Mr. C. A. Hanna, by exchange. *Ohio Valley Genealogies*.

Mr. Geo. A. Jewett. *The Jewett Family of America*.

Mr. W. H. L. McCourtie. *McCourtie Genealogy*; also the *Cohan Genealogy*.

Mr. Chas. N. Page. *History and Genealogy of the Page Family*.

Mr. George H. Partridge. *The Partridge Genealogy*.

Mr. Hosea Paul. *The Jewett Genealogy*, 2 vols., and the *Year Book of the Jewett Family Association* for 1912-13.

Mr. Charles L. Peirson. *The Page Descent*.

Mr. D. S. Rockwell. *Eleven Centuries of the Remote Ancestry of the Rockwell Family*.

Mr. E. L. Ryerson. *The Ryerson Genealogy*.

Mr. E. J. Sellers. *Fenwick Allied Ancestry*.

Mr. Bradford Sherman. *Genealogy of the Sherman Family*.

- Mr. H. L. Shiner. *Descendants of George Huse Shiner.*
Mrs. Annie Morril Smith. *From One Generation to Another, and Morrill Kindred in America.*
Mr. Clarence D. Smith. *The Peck Family Record*, vol. 1.
Mr. D. L. Tappan. *The Tappan-Toppan Genealogy.*
Mr. E. G. Wylie. *Chart of the Wylie Family.*

NEWSPAPERS

We have increased our newspaper collection this year by 177 bound volumes and by as many more unbound.

In addition many gaps in our files have been filled by obtaining single numbers here and there. These, amounting to a large number, have been carefully listed and put in their respective files. Nearly all the additions to this collection have been obtained by exchange or gift.

Among the bound volumes obtained this year are:

A bound volume containing a number of the issues of the *Cleveland Register* for 1818 and a run (not complete) of the *Cleveland Herald*, 1818-25. This is the gift of Mrs. A. R. Warner.

A file of the *Buffalo Evening Post*, 1851-1866.

The Nation, 1865-68.

The London Chronicle, 1764 and 1777.

The Allgemeine Zeitung, 1860-1865.

The Boston Gazette, 1801, 1804.

The North American and United States Gazette, Philadelphia, 1862-69.

The Press, Philadelphia, 1861-1866.

The South, Baltimore, 1861-2.

The Philanthropist, New Richmond, Ohio, 1836-8.

The Railroad Record and Journal of Commerce, Banking, Manufacturing and Statistics, Cincinnati, 1854-1863.

The Methodist, New York, 1861-65.

The Star, Ravenna, Ohio, 1832.

The Columbian Centinel, 1792-1795

The Zanesville Visitor, 1837-8.

The Torch, 1916.

In addition to the above the Society has subscribed for a set of the photostat copies of the *Boston News Letter*. The *News Letter*, founded in 1704 by John

Campbell, was the first newspaper published in America. The Massachusetts Historical Society, with the co-operation of those owning copies of this newspaper, is reproducing by photostat a few sets of these otherwise unobtainable papers. It is purposed that the reprint will include at least all known copies up to 1774.

It is very fortunate that photostat copies, which naturally are absolutely accurate, are being made, so that some of the rarest and almost inaccessible material are made available to students in different sections.

ALMANACS

Another example of valuable photostat work is the set of the early Massachusetts almanacs which has been given to the Society by Mr. Palmer.

As many of our members may know, the first printing press in America was set up to print the almanac of 1639. Of these early Massachusetts almanacs, the very earliest ones are not known to be in existence, and of the later ones there are in several cases only a single copy available, and these are scattered through private and public collections. The American Antiquarian Society has done good work in making available the photostat copies of all the known issues, starting with the earliest one that is now extant, that of 1646, and continuing with all the different issues up to 1670. The Society is to be congratulated that one of the few sets issued, in sixty volumes, has been presented to it.

Several early Ohio almanacs were purchased by means of the F. F. Prentiss fund. Besides these, quite a number have been received on exchange and gift from other sources.

MAPS

A number of manuscript as well as printed maps have been added to the William P. Palmer collection. The most valuable is a collection of some forty-five Confederate war maps, the majority of them being

hand-drawn by the engineers of the Confederate army and used by General Braxton Bragg in his campaigns.

From Mr. C. W. Bingham, we have received an exceedingly interesting manuscript map covering the territory from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario along the Niagara River. This map was made during the War of 1812 and shows all the fortifications and defences in this section.

Mr. Allen Severance. A manuscript map of an early allotment in the village of Brooklyn.

Mr. H. A. Streator. An early map of North America.

By purchase several maps have been placed in the Society's collection, including Hennepin's map of the Mississippi region, 1687; Bellin's map of New France, 1755, showing the Great Lakes and as far south as the Ohio River; also an early map of Ohio showing the Western Reserve with only two county divisions, viz.: Geauga and Trumbull.

On account of the inaccessibility and the fear of duplication, little has been done of late years towards enlarging our map collection, except by such maps as were offered as gifts. With the installing of our new cases and the cataloging of the collection on hand, we can devote efforts to its increase.

MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscript collections of the Society have received many valuable additions. The latest consists of many of the private papers and correspondence of Hon. T. E. Burton. This large collection has just been received but no effort has been made as yet to classify or even arrange it.

The collection on the Civil War given by Mr. Palmer has been increased by a large number of rare manuscripts. To call attention to all the items received in this collection would be too extensive for this report, but allow us to mention one special collection, perhaps

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the most outstanding one, that has been added during the year, that of the *General Braxton Bragg Papers*. These papers cover thoroughly the operations of the Confederate army under General Bragg. In the collection were:

A large number of printed General Orders bearing notations in the handwriting of General Bragg.

A broadside proclamation issued by General Bragg at Bardstown, Ky., *To the People of the Northwest*, inviting Ohio and other Western states to join the Confederacy.

A daily diary of the Kentucky and Tennessee campaigns for 1862-63, from the pen of one of his aides-de-camp, Captain Stoddard Johnson, recording with minuteness all the battle engagements of this campaign.

The original drafts of the reports of General Bragg to President Jefferson Davis bearing on the Kentucky and Tennessee campaigns.

Four original letter-books; the first covering the period from March 10, 1861 to August 16, 1862. This commences with his official letter to the Confederate government at Montgomery, reporting his arrival. (The first general order of the Confederate government appointed General Braxton Bragg commander of the Confederate forces at Pensacola.) This volume also contains the official correspondence with Union authorities; correspondence with Confederate governors, generals, President Davis and various cabinet officials, giving full reports of the bombardment of Fort Pickens, Pensacola and other points along the coast, by the Union fleet.

The second letter-book, from January 1st, 1863, to August 20th, 1863, contains over 1000 letters, orders, proclamations, and correspondence with the subordinate commanders of the Army of the Tennessee, and reports of battle engagements transmitted to the Confederate War Office.

The third letter-book, from September 8th, 1863, to November 30th, 1863, contains circulars, telegrams,

list of staff officers serving with the different general officers, dates of their commissions, and the roster of the officers of the Army of the Tennessee.

The fourth letter-book contains letters and telegrams from the headquarters of the Department of North Carolina from December 26th, 1864, to April 10th, 1865. The orders and dispatches in this book are of great interest. They are directed to President Davis, General Lee, and the commanding officers of the surviving Confederate units scattered throughout the Confederacy. All told, there are some 850 letters and dispatches in this volume.

These four volumes contain over 4,000 letters, orders and dispatches, a complete record from March, 1861 to April 10th, 1865, shortly after General Lee's surrender.

The separate documents in the collection, consisting of some 2,000 pieces, include:

Official reports of General Bragg.

Official reports to the Provisional Government at Montgomery, Alabama, before and during the early stages of the war.

Documents and dispatches by Confederate generals, mainly devoted to the military movements.

The original drafts of General Bragg's dispatches, 1862-3.

Dispatches from the Provisional Government at Montgomery, some of which are in cipher, but the secret code of the Government is included in the collection.

The official reports of the Kentucky and Tennessee campaigns; the battles of Shiloh, Perrysville, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, Mission Ridge, Lookout Mountain and many other engagements. These rare documents consist of from four to thirty pages each.

A long letter from Hon. C. L. Vallandigham of Ohio to General Bragg, asking permission to enter the Confederate lines, also letters and telegrams between General Bragg, President Davis and the authorities at Richmond bearing on this case.

Secret Confederate reports bearing on the organization of the Union armies.

List of Federal prisoners held as hostages against the capture of General Morgan and his command.

Some twenty odd orders and dispatches of General Longstreet. These are exceedingly rare, as General Longstreet's papers were destroyed in the fire at his residence in Gainesville, Ga., some twenty years ago.

Besides these, there are over 200 personal letters addressed to General Bragg by Generals Polk, Hardee, Wheeler, Kirby Smith, and others.

There were also in the collection a large number of Confederate newspapers.

The maps in this collection I have noted elsewhere in this report.

A partial list of other manuscripts received is as follows:

From Mr. C. W. Bingham, a subscription list, dated May 16, 1864, signed by Clevelanders, to raise \$200 for purchasing a new flag for the 124th (Ohio Regt.) to have inscribed on it—*The battle fields of Chickamauga and Mission Ridge* by order of General Thomas.

Mr. Allen Severance has presented a most valuable collection of early Cleveland material, consisting of letters of R. Parkman to John Walworth, 1804; various commissions of John Walworth, the earliest being signed by Governor Arthur St. Clair; the letter-book of John Walworth, 1809-1812; a history of Kinsman, Ohio, written by Dudley P. Allen, M.D.; and a large number of other interesting items.

Mrs. Julia Pickard Bailey on her return from a trip to her southern home and that of her husband, Rev. Ralph Bailey, brought an interesting collection of Civil War correspondence of some 30 pieces, consisting largely of letters written by Confederates from the battle fields.

Mrs. J. C. Gerould has presented the Record book of Mentor Public Library, 1826-51, also the By-laws of the same under date of 1820.

Mr. J. M. Ackley. Book of the Rocky River Town plat, January 17, 1811, and a survey of the same, dated January, 1811; with other items.

Mrs. Clara J. Craft. Record Book of the M. E. Church at West Salem, Ohio, 1853.

Mr. John Daggett, Kirtland, Ohio. Manuscript record book.

Mr. Wm. G. Dietz. A collection of Hinsdale manuscripts.

Mrs. E. C. Higbee. Twenty-two volumes of the records of the Conversational Club of Cleveland.

Miss Anne Hitchcock. A large box of manuscript papers of the Hitchcock family of Burton.

Mr. E. C. Lampson, of Jefferson. Several old letters, including one important letter written during the War of 1812.

Mrs. Walter J. Rich. A large collection of the papers and documents of her grandfather, Peter Weddell.

Mr. S. S. Wilson, Willoughby, Ohio. Manuscript Record book of Chagrin (now Willoughby), 1828; Record book of Chagrin, copied by William Phillips, clerk, in 1819. This dates back to April 3rd, 1815. Record of the Justice Court of Willoughby Township; also five other manuscript records including some of Willoughby Medical College.

Mr. James. I. Wyer, Director of New York State Library. Twenty manuscript documents and letters of the War of 1812.

By purchase. Twenty-two letters and documents bearing on Blennerhassett-Burr affairs, including the order of arrest of Blennerhassett have been added to the collection.

Some three or four different lots of Shaker manuscripts have been added to our ever increasing collection.

Mrs. P. M. Hitchcock. A chest full of manuscript records of the Atlantic and Great Western R.R. This collection of papers and documents was collected by Mr. Hitchcock at the time he was connected with the Railroad as receiver.

NEEDS

1. The largest and most pressing need is an addition to our building. The heavy increase in the size of our collections is rapidly filling all available space and will compel us to study seriously this problem. We have collections packed away that would be very instructive if there were space in the Museum for their proper display. Many interesting exhibits could be arranged for the public if there were more room. Whether it would be better on the one hand to try to

The first of these is the fact that the medical profession is not a homogeneous group. There are many different types of physicians, and each type has its own set of interests and concerns. For example, a general practitioner may be more concerned with the health of the community as a whole, while a specialist may be more concerned with the health of a specific group of patients. This lack of homogeneity makes it difficult to develop a unified policy for the medical profession.

The second of these is the fact that the medical profession is not a self-regulating body. While there are many organizations that represent the interests of the medical profession, none of them has the authority to enforce a code of ethics or to discipline a physician who has violated the code. This lack of self-regulation makes it difficult to ensure that the medical profession is acting in the best interests of the public.

The third of these is the fact that the medical profession is not a transparent organization. There are many things that the medical profession does that are not in the public interest, and these things are often done in secret. For example, the medical profession often engages in self-promotion and lobbying on behalf of its interests, and it often engages in activities that are designed to keep the public from knowing the truth about the medical profession.

These three factors—the lack of homogeneity, the lack of self-regulation, and the lack of transparency—make it difficult to develop a unified policy for the medical profession. However, there are some things that can be done to improve the medical profession. First, the medical profession should be made more homogeneous by encouraging the development of a common code of ethics and by encouraging the development of a common set of standards. Second, the medical profession should be made more self-regulating by giving it the authority to enforce a code of ethics and to discipline a physician who has violated the code. Third, the medical profession should be made more transparent by requiring it to disclose its activities and by requiring it to provide information to the public about its activities.

dispose of our present building and location and to select a new building lot and erect thereon an edifice better suited to the present needs of the Society, or on the other hand, to build a book stack at the rear of our present building, is a matter to be thought over most carefully before any decision is reached.

2. *Binding.* Some two years ago Mr. William G. Mather very kindly provided some funds for binding a number of our serials, but there are many others that need to be thus protected. If we could bind some three to four hundred volumes, it would make available a number of important serials and publications that are now practically unusable.

3. Provision for mounting our maps and broadsides should be arranged for as soon as possible, so that the work of classifying and cataloging this material may be pushed forward as soon as the cases are ready for them.

4. We should employ, as soon as funds will permit, an assistant cataloguer to aid in the cataloging. With the force we have now we can hardly take care of the books that come in from day to day.

LIBRARY STATISTICS

The following shows the amount accomplished in accessions and cataloging for the year.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Number of bound volumes accessioned during the year . . . | 2258 |
| " " newspaper volumes accessioned during the year . . | 167 |
| " " pamphlets accessioned during the year | 1311 |
| " " volumes withdrawn during the year | 100 |
| " " pamphlets withdrawn during the year | 58 |
| Last number in bound-volume accession book | 42566 |
| Number of bound-volumes withdrawn to date, as duplicates
or as inappropriate for our collections | 4250 |
| Number of newspaper volumes reaccessioned in the news-
papers accession book | 7 |
| Total number of withdrawals to be deducted | 4257 |

| | |
|---|-------|
| Number of volumes accessioned in general bound-volumes
accession book remaining to date..... | 38309 |
| Number of volumes accessioned in newspapers accession
book..... | 2977 |

| | |
|---|-------|
| Total number of accessioned volumes in library..... | 41286 |
|---|-------|

| | |
|--|-------|
| Last number in pamphlets accession book..... | 13738 |
| Number of pamphlets withdrawn to date..... | 491 |

| | |
|---|-------|
| Total number accessioned pamphlets remaining..... | 13247 |
|---|-------|

| | |
|---|-------|
| Total number of accessioned volumes and pamphlets to
date..... | 54533 |
|---|-------|

The greater part of the volumes and pamphlets in the Palmer Collection are still unaccessioned. The Shaker collection is wholly unaccessioned, as well as many newspaper volumes, and volumes of Ohio state documents. The unbound and unaccessioned material includes also serials, annuals, college catalogues and bulletins, speeches, sermons, the Brodie Collection of amateur journalism, the almanac collection, the unbound newspapers, and unbound state documents.

The number of duplicates for exchange listed during the year was 3656; the total number listed to date is 19485.

The number of pamphlets fitted into Gaylord pamphlet-binders during the year was 1363.

WALLACE H. CATHCART,
Director.

TREASURER'S REPORT

THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1917

RECEIPTS

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| May 1, 1916—Cash on hand..... | \$ 2,643.21 |
| Subscriptions—May 1, 1916 to April 30, 1917..... | 8,487.00 |
| Special Contributions..... | 8,421.68 |
| Income from Endowment Fund..... | 4,148.93 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts..... | 61.05 |
| Interest on Deposits to April 30, 1917..... | 61.73 |
| | <u>\$23,823.60</u> |

DISBURSEMENTS

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| May 1, 1916 to April 30, 1917..... | 19,130.45 |
| May 1, 1917—Balance on hand..... | \$ 4,693.15 |

DISBURSEMENTS

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Subscriptions to periodicals..... | 72.28 |
| Printing and Stationary..... | 1,193.75 |
| Salaries..... | 7,230.45 |
| General Expense..... | 620.81 |
| Light and Heat..... | 383.07 |
| Traveling..... | 128.42 |
| Building Account..... | 130.82 |
| Additions to collections..... | 9,370.85 |
| | <u>\$19,130.45</u> |

SUBSCRIPTIONS

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 14 at \$250.00 each..... | \$ 3,500.00 |
| 1 at 200.00 each..... | 200.00 |
| 6 at 150.00 each..... | 900.00 |
| 4 at 100.00 each..... | 400.00 |
| 8 at 50.00 each..... | 400.00 |
| 7 at 25.00 each..... | 175.00 |
| 1 at 30.00 each..... | 30.00 |
| 288 at 10.00 each..... | 2,880.00 |
| 1 at 2.00 each..... | 2.00 |
| | <u>\$ 8,487.00</u> |

Special contributors during the year were Messrs.

A. C. Brown
 Ralph King
 Otto Miller
 Wm. P. Palmer

F. F. Prentiss
 Ambrose Swasey
 W. C. Talmage
 J. H. Wade

ENDOWMENT

The endowment under date of August 1st, 1917, amounts to \$127,809. This sum includes the \$25,000 known as the Dudley P. Allen bequest, and \$29,535 thus far received from the O. J. Hodge estate.

The following are the contributors to the endowment thus far:

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| Caroline P. Baldwin | W. L. Harkness |
| Lilian H. Baldwin | H. H. Johnson |
| Chas. W. Bingham | H. A. Kelley |
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| W. H. Canniff | Ralph King |
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A. S. CHISHOLM, Treasurer

Side Lights
ON
The Ohio Company of Associates

From the

JOHN MAY PAPERS

Edited By

ELBERT JAY BENTON

With An Introduction

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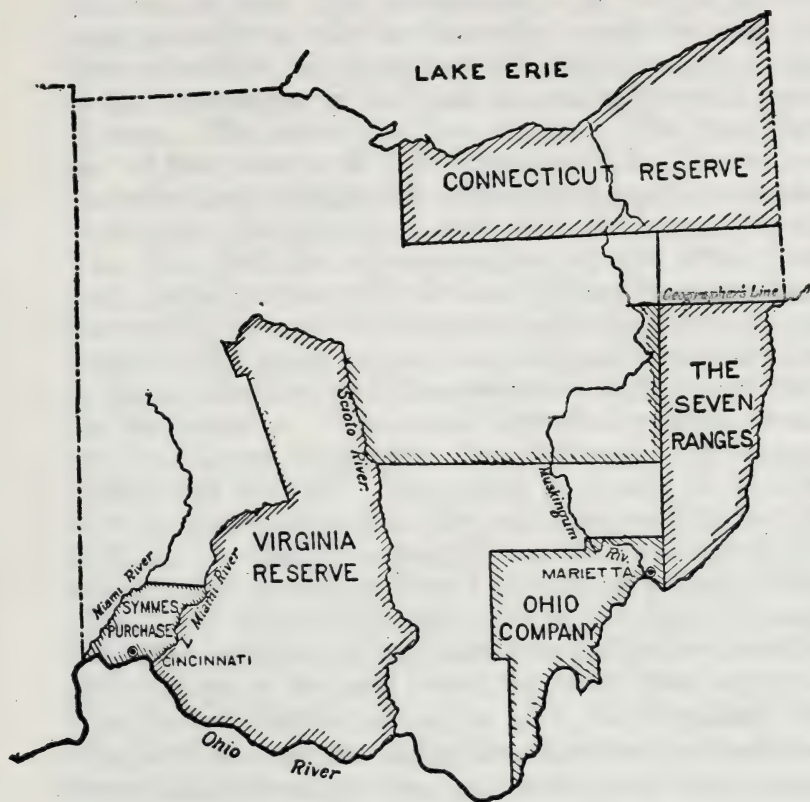
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INTRODUCTION

The appearance in print of the Records of the Ohio Company, edited by Professor Archer B. Hulbert, seems to make this a particularly appropriate time to publish the John May Papers which are in the manuscript collections of the Western Reserve Historical Society. The History of the Ohio Company together with that of the Connecticut Land Company to which the Western Reserve Historical Society devoted its last annual publication forms a remarkable phase of the expansion of New England and of its share in the Westward movement. Conditions were ripe in New England after the Revolution for such a movement. The land bounties promised by Congress to bolster up the volunteer system of recruiting the Continental armies had produced a class which looked to the West as the location of its reward. The issues of bonds or certificates of one form or another had created a form of national indebtedness which the holders wished to invest on more favorable terms than the general market permitted. Congress had possession of western lands by 1787 and was ready to bargain them away in order to liquidate a portion of its national indebtedness. The Ohio country south of the Connecticut Western Reserve and east of the Virginia Military Reserve, except a small reserve of 10,000 acres on the Tuscarawas River for the Christian Indians under the care of the United Brethren or Moravian missionaries, was open for white settlement. Congress had formulated a land policy in 1785. By this the western lands were to be surveyed into townships six miles square and sections one mile square. Seven ranges or tiers of townships lying immediately west of the Pennsylvania boundary were being surveyed, and as fast as surveyed offered for sale at a dollar an acre, half in whole townships and half in section lots. But bidders were scarce and sales

discouragingly slow. The causes of the temporary failure of the Congressional policy are clear. The weak national government backed up by a meager army of a few hundred soldiers was unable to compel the Indians to respect their agreements. Moreover the frontiersmen of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, were accustomed to taking lands by "tomahawk right" and refused to pay for lands as long as others could be occupied unchallenged. Under the circumstances Congress was rather easily induced to alter its policy temporarily and sell its lands in huge tracts to larger eastern bidders. The new born spirit of nationalism among the American people stamped with the seal of patriotism every effort to anticipate the British or the Spanish in the actual colonization of the Mississippi Valley. The main fact for American History is that a marked era in promotion of frontier real estate adventures developed during the decade following 1785. Individuals and companies, much like Baltimore, Penn, Berkeley, Carteret, the Virginia Company, and the Massachusetts Bay Company of older colonial times, dreamed of vast fortunes in the wildernesses of America without venturing great amounts of capital. Some of them purchased lands on the frontier of the eastern states, others from the United States out of the Congress lands in the Northwest. Some of the operators were mere land speculators without any purpose to develop their territories, others gave serious attention to the colonization of their purchase. Professor Hulbert's historical sketch in the Introduction to the Records of the Ohio Company makes clearer than hitherto the distinction in purpose and method of such enterprises as the Ohio Company and the group of Scioto speculators. He shows that the former represented a creditable plan to combine sound investment, home making and state building while the latter was a land jobbing deal pure and simple. The Ohio Company invested a large sum of money for the time in a tract of land to be colonized and incorporated into the Union; the Scioto



LAND GRANTS AND RESERVES IN THE OHIO
TERRITORY IN 1788

purchase, known by the region upon which its option was taken, was an enterprise in which the promoters would not have to invest a cent. If the westward tide set its way the instalments due to the government in order to take up the option could be met and there would be left an opportunity for extensive profits to the promoters; if it failed the contract would merely lapse. The latter was the outcome. The fraudulent sale of four shares of the Scioto lands in Europe and the unfortunate plight of the innocent French purchasers have given the episode a notoriety far beyond merit. The fact that the representatives of the Ohio Company joined forces with the land jobbers hanging about the capital in a dual contract in order to carry through Congress the main project has produced a nice problem in business ethics and Congressional political methods for the historian. This small historical problem should not be allowed to obscure the wholesome influence of Cutler and Sargent. The event in American History of real consequence was the purchase on October 27, 1787, by the Ohio Company from the Treasury Board acting under authority from Congress of a tract of land lying north of the Ohio and west of the Seven Ranges for a cash payment of half a million dollars and another half million to be paid when the tract was surveyed. The United States agreed to give the company lots 16 and 29 in each township for education and religion, two whole townships for a university, and the bounty lands to which the members who were Revolutionary soldiers were entitled provided these did not exceed one-seventh of the tract. At the same time Congress reserved sections 8, 11 and 26 in each township for such purposes as it might itself desire. The contract permitted the Ohio Company to offer at par the depreciated Continental certificates which had been issued for the soldiers of the Revolution in payment for its lands. The stockholders of the Ohio Company in turn paid their subscriptions in either these certificates or in

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bounty claims counted in the ratio of a dollar for every acre of the claims up to one-seventh of the subscription.

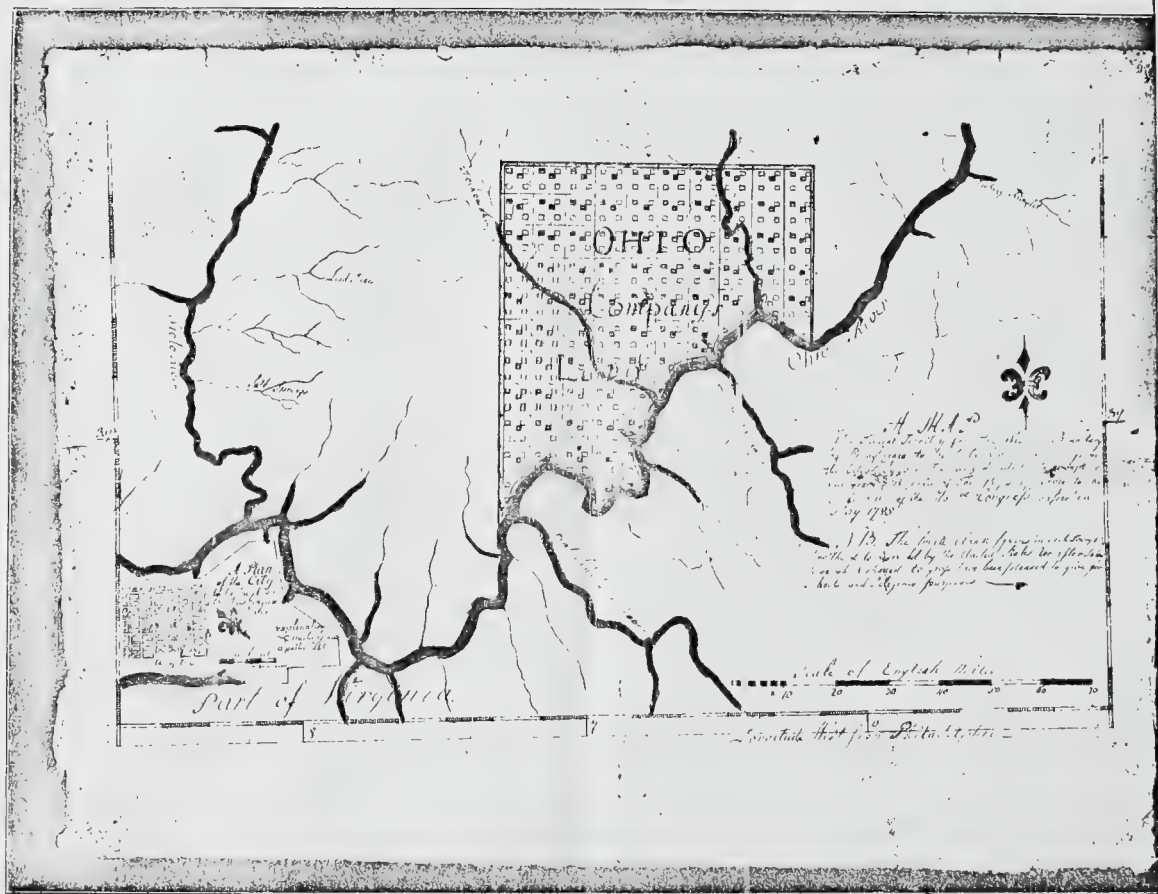
Professor Hulbert emphasizes the influence of the Society of the Cincinnati and the American Union Lodge of Masons in the formation of the Ohio Company. The congenial New England army officers bound together by long service in the Revolution and by common membership in the two great organizations of men of the time produced a fertile field for any undertaking which called for coöperation or team work whether of land speculation or political activity. It may be of interest to point out that the Connecticut Land Company was also a product of that fertile field for coöperation. The leaders were officers of the Revolutionary army. Seven of the Ohio Company's stockholders became members of the Connecticut Land Company.*

Moses Cleaveland who had two shares or \$2000 in the Ohio Company became a chief promoter of the Connecticut Company with \$32,600 in the latter enterprise. He was an officer of the Revolution, a leading member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and a Grand Marshall of the Grand Lodge of Masons of Connecticut. Certainly the promoters of these companies, men like Generals Samuel H. Parsons, Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper, Moses Cleaveland, Major Winthrop Sargent, Lieutenant Ephraim Kirby and the Reverend Manasseh Cutler, belonged to a common New England class with wide associations, business and professional. There is no evidence in the records of either company of any direct connections between the enterprises. It was a common thing for men of affairs to be members of several land speculating companies. The same men who were colonizing Ohio were exploiting the lands of western New York and Maine.

*The following men were stockholders in both companies:

Caleb Atwater with \$1000 in Ohio Company subscribed \$22,846 in the Connecticut Company; Moses Cleaveland \$2000 in former, \$32,600 in latter; Sylvanus Griswold \$1000 and \$1,683 respectively; Nehemiah Hubbard \$2000 and \$19,039; Ephraim Kirby \$1000 and \$20,000; Uriah Tracey \$1000 and \$28,700; and Joseph Williams \$2000 and \$15,231 respectively.





THE OHIO COMPANY LAND
Reduced from original size, 20x14½ inches



The Connecticut Land Company which purchased the Western Reserve in 1795 after the hard times of 1791 and 1792 and after the conquest of the Indians by General Anthony Wayne in 1795 escaped from many of the difficulties which the Ohio Company experienced. By the time any considerable population was located on the Western Reserve, Ohio territory had been organized and cast its protecting influence over the whole region. The Connecticut Company did not have the same problems of political organization which the Ohio Company had. More was left in the Western Reserve to the initiative of the settlers; there was less of company activities. Both showed to a marked degree the evils of absentee landlordism. The stockholders who remained in the east found sales slow, complained of taxes, and would seem to have found the stock a poor investment. Mr. Shepard's article in the Annual Publication of the Western Reserve Historical Society for 1916 showed that the Connecticut Company surveyed its lands, cleared a few wood roads, and gave away a few small lots of land and small sums of money as bounties to encourage the establishment of saw-mills and flour mills. A reading of the Ohio Company Records impresses one with the wider activities of its Board of Directors. They did all for the settlers on their lands which the other companies of the day did and much more because the times required it. During the trying early years they acted as a Board of Police and concerned themselves not only with the defenses of the little community but minutely regulated the local government of the settlements. They engaged a minister and a teacher, and for some years bore the large part of the expenses. The minutes of the meetings of the Directors become an interesting study in the regulation of frontier life by a proprietary company. The Directors and Agents carried the company through the hard times of 1791, the serious losses caused by the speculations and bankruptcy of the Treasurer, and a four year Indian War. Houses

were provided for the refugees of the Indian War. Lands were given to the Nova Scotia refugees near Fort Harmar and for the French emigrants at Gallipolis. The measures to advance the interests of the small investor and the poor settler go beyond those of the other companies of the day and are in striking contrast to the indifference and undemocratic features of the rival policy of Congress on the Seven Ranges. No stockholder in the Ohio Company could take more than five shares; poor men could club together in taking a single share. All lands were divided by lot. Houses were built in Marietta by the company for the first immigrants. The workmen of the company were paid in cash or lands, and if in lands on liberal terms. While not many of the stockholders migrated to the company lands those who did had what amounted to a bonus. Each stockholder's allotments as a share holder amounted to 1173 acres per share. In addition he might if he had been a Revolutionary soldier take up his bounty lands which varied with his rank from 100 acres for the privates to 300 for captains and 500 for colonels. Above these rights the stockholders who settled on the company lands had a prior claim to the extent of 100 acres in the Donation tracts provided they located on one of them and fulfilled the conditions of the homesteader. Non-proprietors who settled on one of the Donation tracts which were located in different parts of the company's purchase secured homesteads on the same terms. The obligations were analogous to the "corn and cabin" rights of Virginia. The settler must within five years have built a house with a cellar and chimney and have cleared and planted 20 acres. Within three years 50 apple or pear trees and 20 peach trees must be growing. Yet withal the growth of the colony was slow. The Ohio Company divided its lands among the members in 1796 and from that event ceased as an organization to have much influence on the history of the West.

The first of these is the fact that the world is not a uniform whole, but is divided into many different parts, each of which has its own characteristics and its own laws. This is the case with the physical world, the world of nature, and the world of man. The physical world is divided into many different parts, each of which has its own characteristics and its own laws. The world of nature is divided into many different parts, each of which has its own characteristics and its own laws. The world of man is divided into many different parts, each of which has its own characteristics and its own laws.

The second of these is the fact that the world is not a static whole, but is a dynamic whole, which is constantly changing and developing. This is the case with the physical world, the world of nature, and the world of man. The physical world is constantly changing and developing. The world of nature is constantly changing and developing. The world of man is constantly changing and developing.

Some of the May Papers will throw light on the activities of the Ohio Company in this period. In 1909 the Western Reserve Historical Society purchased an old chest filled with papers from Miss Mary D. May of Cambridge, a granddaughter of Colonel John May. The papers had remained undisturbed since May's death, except that his Journal and a few letters had been removed and published.* A full examination of the contents of the chest revealed a varied mass of papers of a man of affairs in Boston and in the Ohio country. Letters and documents from Manasseh Cutler, William Rufus Putnam and George Washington were in the disordered lot. John May† was one of the active founders of the Ohio Company, an Agent for 26 stockholders representing 35 shares out of 817, and owner himself of what amounted to four shares though only one was in his own name. In 1788 he spent two months in Marietta occupied with the business of the Ohio Company and with developing the land which fell to his share in the first allotment. He took with him a party of laborers, "stout hearty men," whom he provisioned and paid three or four dollars a month. At Pittsburgh he secured a covered flat boat capable of carrying a burden of forty-five tons. This served to transport the party with tools, supplies and live-stock—cows, hogs, and dogs. At Marietta the boat furnished lodging until a log house was built, and then supplied the lumber for the floors of the house. May's Journal is an interesting account of 18th century travel, westward migration and frontier activities.

If May really contemplated occupying with his family the house which he built in Marietta the plan was abandoned. During 1789 he made a second and

*Journal and letters of Colonel John May of Boston relative to Two Journeys to the Ohio Country in 1788 and 1789, Cincinnati, 1873).

†John May was born in Pomfret, Connecticut, November 24, 1748. While a boy he was sent to Boston and apprenticed after the custom of his time to a distant relative, Colonel Ephraim May. He was engaged in business in Boston when the Revolution began. There is a tradition that he was one of the famous "tea party" two years earlier. In 1778 he was given a commission in the Boston militia and rose successiely from the rank of Captain to Major, Lieutenant Colonel and after the Revolution to Colonel. He served in Rhode Island under the Count of Rochambeau's command. For twenty years Colonel May was a Firewarden of Boston and for eight years a Slectman. He died in Boston, July, 1812.

his final visit to the West. This one was on a trading adventure with a "floating store." One concludes from his letters that the undertaking was only moderately successful. He found the western storekeepers to whom he expected to sell his wares "in a miserable way." Ginseng or skins were the currency of the trade. The remainder of his relations with the Ohio Company were those of an absentee proprietor and Agent. In the latter capacity he was virtually a sub-treasurer of the company for a Boston group of proprietors, twenty-six in number. While May was an active member of the Ohio Company his influence was secondary to that of Manasseh Cutler, Rufus Putnam and possibly one or two others. He kept copies of the company records and correspondence which came to him. Some of this material apparently does not exist elsewhere. The following selection from the May Papers is submitted as a contribution of sources for the history of one of the most important movements in the colonization of Ohio. It should supplement the Marietta College Historical Collections.

PLAN
DES ACHATS DES
COMPAGNIES DE
L'OHIO ET DU SCIOTO

SE Les points sur lesquels la
riviére des Indes, avant
l'achat en numéraire de par
telle, n'ont pas été de la
cours.

concedées à
l'Amér.

Mont de l'Inde

Derrière de l'Inde

Pointe de l'Inde par la Compagnie de l'Inde

Terrain de la Compagnie
du Scioto

COMTE
DE LA FOLETTE
EN KENTUCKE

PARTIE
DE LA

LA VIRGINIE

COMTE DE L'OHIO

LA VIRGINIE

PARTIE DE LA VIRGINIE

PENNSYLVANIE

TERRES PROPRIÉTÉ
DU CONSEIL



Echelle de 1000 toises

Carte dressée par M. de la Roche

Imprimé chez M. de la Roche

I

DESCRIPTION OF OHIO

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Map was apparently prepared for use in selling the Scioto Lands in France. The original map, the author of which is unknown, and the Explanation of the Map by Manasseh Cutler were clearly intended for the use of prospective subscribers to the stock of the Ohio Company.*

This so-called Explanation of the Map is placed at the head of the documentary Side Lights on the Ohio Company from May's Papers. It exhibits some of the extravagance of statement characteristic of real-estate promoting. The author foresaw a time within twenty years when "there will be more people on the western than on the eastern waters of the United States" and made the suggestion that Congress might adopt a sort of a peripatetic federal capital migrating westward with the seat of empire. It represents on the whole the more intelligent eastern opinion of the Ohio country in 1787 and its prospects. The chief value of the document as a primary source for the history of the Ohio Company lies in the emphasis which it places on the water routes. It is clear that one of the chief motives in locating the new town at the juncture of the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers was the same as that which caused the Connecticut Land Company to locate its chief settlement at the mouth of the Cuyahoga. The Cuyahoga and the Muskingum were parts of a main highway between the Ohio River and Lake Erie. Cutler like his contemporaries was thinking in the terms of small boats, river navigation and portage paths. With their knowledge they were right in

*An English translation of the French translation was published in the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society's Publications, Vol. III, 81. The translation departs considerably from the original.

locating the western settlements at the junctions in the western river system.

DOCUMENT

AN/ EXPLANATION/ OF THE/ MAP/ WHICH
DELINEATES THAT PART OF THE/ FEDERAL
LANDS,/ Comprehended between Pennsylvania West
Line, the Rivers Ohio/ and Sioto, and Lake Erie; con-
firmed to the UNITED STATES/ by sundry Tribes
of Indians, in the Treaties of 1784 and 1786,/ and
now ready for Settlement.

SALEM:/ PRINTED BY DABNEY AND CUSHING,/
MDCCLXXXVII.

New-York, 28th October, 1787.

Having attentively perused the following pamphlet, describing part of the western territory of the United States, I DO CERTIFY, that the facts therein related, respecting the fertility of the soil, productions, and general advantages of settlement, &c. are judicious, just and true, and correspond with observations made by me during my residence of upwards of ten years in that country.

Thomas Hutchins,
Geographer of the United States.

AN
EXPLANATION, &c.

THE great river Ohio is formed by the confluence of Monongahela and the Alleghany, in the State of Pennsylvania, about 290 miles west of the city of Philadelphia, and about 20 miles east of the western line of that State. In the common travelling road, the former distance is computed at 320 miles; and, by the windings and oblique direction of the Ohio, the latter is reckoned about 42. These two sources of the Ohio are large navigable streams; the former, flowing from the southeast, leaves but 30 miles portage from the navigable waters of the Potowmac, in Virginia; the latter opens a passage from the northeast, and rises not far from the head waters of the Susquehanna.

THE State of Pennsylvania have already adopted the plan of opening a navigation from the Alleghany river to the city of Philadelphia, through the Susquehanna and the Delaware. In this route there will be a portage of only 24 miles.

ON the junction of these rivers, or at the head of the Ohio, stands Fort Pitt, which gives name to the town of Pittsburgh, a flourishing settlement in the vicinity of the fortress. From this place the Ohio takes a southwestern course of 1183 miles, including its various windings, and discharges itself into the Mississippi; having passed a prodigious length of delightful and fertile country, and received the tribute of a large number of navigable streams. The Muskingum, the Hockhocking, the Sioto, the Miami, and the Wabash, from the northwest; the Kenhawa, the Kentucky, the Buffaloe, the Shawanee, and the Cherokee, from the southeast, all navigable from 100 to 900 miles, discharge themselves into the Ohio; and yet the Ohio itself forms but an inconsiderable part of that

vast variety of congregated streams which visit the ocean through the channel of the Mississippi.

THE Ohio, from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi, divides the State of Virginia from the federal lands, or the lands which do not fall within the limits of any particular State. These extend westward to the Mississippi, and northward to the boundary of the United States, excepting only the Connecticut reserve, which is a narrow strip of land, bordering on the south of Lake Erie, and stretching 120 miles west of the western limit of Pennsylvania. But a small proportion of these lands is as yet purchased of the natives, and to be disposed of by Congress. Beginning on the meridan line, which forms the western boundary of Pennsylvania, they have surveyed and laid off seven ranges of townships. As a north and south line strikes the Ohio in a very oblique direction, the termination of the seventh range falls upon that river 9 miles above the Muskingum, which is the first large river that falls into the Ohio. It forms this junction at 172 miles below Fort Pitt, including the windings of the Ohio, though in a direct line it is but 90 miles.

The lands in which the Indian title is extinguished, and which are now purchasing under the United States, are bounded as before described on the east, by the great Miami on the west, by the Ohio on the south, and extend near to the head waters of the Muskingum and Sioto on the north.

THE Muskingum is a gentle river, confined by banks so high as to prevent its overflowing. It is 250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable by large batteaux and barges to the *Three Legs*; and, by small ones, to the lake at its head. From hence, by a portage of about one mile, a communication is opened to Lake Erie, through the Cayahoga, which is a stream of great utility, navigable the whole length, without any obstruction from falls. From Lake Erie, the avenue is well known to the Hudson in the State of New-York. The most considerable portage in this

route is at the fall of Niagara, which interrupts the communication between the lakes Erie and Ontario. From the latter you pass through the river Oswego, the Oneyda lake, Wood's creek, and find a short portage into the Mohawk, and another occasioned by a fall near the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson, at Albany.

THE Hockhocking resembles the Muskingum, though somewhat inferior in size. It is navigable for large boats about 70 miles, and for small ones much farther. On the banks of this very useful stream are found inexhaustible quarries of free-stone, large beds of iron ore, and some rich mines of lead. Coal mines and salt springs are frequent in the neighborhood of this stream, as they are in every part of the western territory. The salt that may be obtained from these springs will afford an inexhaustible store of that necessary article. Beds of white and blue clay, of an excellent quality, are likewise found here, suitable for the manufacture of glass, crockery and other earthen wares. Red bole and many other useful fossils have been observed on the branches of this river.

THE Sioto is a larger river than either of the preceding, and opens a more extensive navigation. It is passable for large barges for 200 miles, with a portage of only 4 miles to the Sandusky, a good navigable stream that falls into the lake Erie. Through the Sandusky and Sioto lies the most common pass from Canada to the Ohio and Mississippi; one of the most extensive and useful communications that are to be found in any country. Prodigious extensions of territory are here connected; and, from the rapidity with which the western parts of Canada, lake Erie and the Kentucky countries are settling, we may anticipate an immense intercourse between them. The lands on the borders of these middle streams; from this circumstance alone, aside from their natural fertility, must be rendered vastly valuable. There is no doubt, but flour, corn, flax, hemp, &c. raised for exportation in that

great country between the lakes Huron and Ontario, will find an easier outlet through lake Erie and these rivers, than in any other direction. The Ohio merchant can give a higher price than those of Quebec, for these commodities; as they may be transported from the former to Florida and the West-India islands, with less expense, risk and insurance, than from the latter; while the expense from the place of growth to the Ohio will not be one fourth of what it would be to Quebec, and much less than even to the Oneyda lake. The stream of Sioto is gentle, no where broken by falls: At some places, in the spring of the year, it overflows its banks, providing for large natural rice plantations. Salt springs, coal mines, white and blue clay, and free-stone, abound in the country adjoining this river.

THE undistinguishing terms of admiration, that are commonly used in speaking of the natural fertility of the country on the western waters of the United States, would render it difficult, without accurate attention in the surveys, to ascribe a preference to any particular part; or to give a just description of the territory under consideration, without the hazard of being suspected of exaggeration; But in *this* we have the united opinion of the Geographer, the Surveyors, and every traveller that has been intimately acquainted with the country, and marked every natural object with the most scrupulous exactness—That no part of the federal territory unites so many advantages, in point of health, fertility, variety of production, and foreign intercourse, as that tract which stretches from the Muskingum to the Sioto and the Great Miami rivers.

COL. GORDON, in his journal, speaking of a much larger range of country, in which this is included, and makes unquestionably the finest part, has the following observation: "The country on the Ohio is every where pleasant, with large level spots of rich land; and remarkably healthy. One general remark of this nature will serve for the whole tract of the globe compre-

hended between the western skirts of the Alleghany mountains; thence running southwesterly to the distance of 500 miles to the Ohio falls; then crossing them northerly to the heads of the rivers that empty themselves into the Ohio; thence east along the ridge that separates the lakes and Ohio's streams, to French Creek—This country may, from a proper knowledge, be affirmed to be the most healthy, the most pleasant, the most commodious and most fertile spot of earth, known to the European people."

THE lands that feed the various streams above mentioned, which fall into the Ohio, are now more accurately known, and may be described with confidence and precision. They are interspersed with all the variety of soil which conduces to pleasantness of situation, and lays the foundation for the wealth of an agricultural and manufacturing people. Large level bottoms, or natural meadows, from 20 to 50 miles in circuit, are every where found bordering the rivers, and variegating the country in the interior parts. These afford as rich a soil as can be imagined, and may be reduced to proper cultivation with very little labour. It is said that in many of these bottoms a man may clear an acre a day, fit for planting with Indian corn; there being no underwood; and the trees, growing very high and large, but not thick together, need nothing but girdling.

THE prevailing growth of timber and the more useful trees are, maple or sugar tree—sycamore—black and white mulberry—black and white walnut—butter-nut—chesnut—white, black, Spanish and chesnut oaks—hickory—cherry—buckwood—honey locust—elm—horse chesnut—cucumber tree—lynn tree—gum tree—iron wood—ash—aspin—sassafras—crab apple tree—paupaw or custard apple—a variety of plumb trees—nine bark spice, and leatherwood bushes. General Parsons measured a black walnut tree near the Muskingum, whose circumference, at five feet from the ground, was 22 feet. A sycamore, near the same

place, measures 44 feet in circumference, at some distance from the ground. White and black oak, and chestnut, with most of the above-mentioned timbers, grow large and plenty upon the high grounds. Both the high and low lands produce vast quantities of natural grapes of various kinds, of which the settlers universally make a sufficiency for their own consumption of rich red wine. It is asserted in the old settlement of St. Vincent's, where they have had opportunity to try it, that age will render this wine preferable to most of the European wines. Cotton is the natural production of this country, and grows in great perfection.

THE sugar maple is a most valuable tree for an inland country. Any number of inhabitants may be forever supplied with a sufficiency of sugar, by preserving a few trees for the use of each family. A tree will yield about ten pounds of sugar a year, and the labour is very trifling: The sap is extracted in the months of February and March, and granulated, by the simple operation of boiling, to a sugar equal in flavour and whiteness to the best Muscovado.

SPRINGS of excellent water abound in every part of this territory; and small and large streams, for mills and other purposes, are actually interspersed, as if by art, that there be no deficiency in any of the conveniences of life.

VERY little waste land is to be found in any part of the tract of country comprehended in the map which accompanies this. There are no swamps; and though the hills are frequent, they are gentle and swelling, nowhere high nor incapable of tillage. They are of a deep, rich soil, covered with a heavy growth of timber, and well adapted to the production of wheat, rye, indigo, tobacco, &c.

THE communications between this country and the sea will be principally in the four following directions.

1. THE route through the Sinto and Muskingum to lake Erie, and so to the river Hudson; which has been already described.

2. THE passage up the Ohio and Monongahela, to the portage above-mentioned, which leads to the navigable waters of the Potowmac. This portage is 30 miles, and will probably be rendered much less by the execution of the plans now on foot for opening the navigation of those waters.

3. THE great Kenhawa, which falls into the Ohio from the Virginia shore, between the Hockhocking and the Sioto, opens an extensive navigation from the southeast, and leaves but 18 miles portage from the navigable waters of James river, in Virginia. This communication, for the country between Muskingum and Sioto, will probably be more used than any other, for the exportation of manufactures, and other light and valuable articles; and, especially, for the importation of foreign commodities, which may be brought from the Chesapeak to the Ohio much cheaper than they are now carried from Philadelphia to Carlisle and the other thick settled back counties of Pennsylvania.

4. BUT the current down the Ohio and the Mississippi, for heavy articles that suit the Florida and West-India markets, such as corn, flour, beef, lumber, &c. will be more frequently loaded than any streams on earth. The distance from the Sioto to the Mississippi is 800 miles; from thence to the sea is 900. This whole course is easily run in 15 days; and the passage up those rivers is not so difficult as has usually been represented. It is found, by late experiments, that sails are used to great advantage against the current of the Ohio: And it is worthy of observation, that in all probability steam-boats will be found to do infinite service in all our extensive river navigation.

SUCH is the state of the facts relative to natural advantages of the territory described in the annexed map. As far as observations in passing the rivers, and the transitory remarks of travellers, will justify an opinion, the lands farther down, and in other parts of the unappropriated country, are not equal, in point of soil and other local advantages, to the tract which

is here described. This, however, cannot be accurately determined, as the present situation of these countries will not admit of that minute inspection which has been bestowed on the one under consideration.

It is a happy circumstance, that the *Ohio Company* are about to commence the settlement of this country in so regular and judicious a manner. It will serve as a wise model for the future settlement of all the federal lands; at the same time that, by beginning so near the western limit of Pennsylvania, it will be a continuation of the old settlements, leaving no vacant lands exposed to be seized by such lawless banditti as usually infest the frontiers of countries distant from the seat of government.

THE design of Congress and of the settlers is, that the settlements shall proceed regularly down the Ohio; and northward to lake Erie. And it is probable that not many years will elapse, before the whole country above Miami will be brought to that degree of cultivation, which will exhibit all its latent beauties, and justify those descriptions of travellers which have so often made it the garden of the world, the seat of wealth, and the centre of a great empire.

To the philosopher and the politician, on viewing this delightful part of the federal territory, under the prospect of an immediate and systematic settlement, the following observations will naturally occur.

First. THE toils of agriculture will here be rewarded with a greater variety of valuable productions, than in any part of America. The advantages of almost every climate are here blended together; every considerable commodity, that is cultivated in any part of the United States, is here produced in the greatest plenty and perfection. The high and dry lands are of a deep, rich soil—producing, in abundance, *wheat, rye, Indian corn, buck wheat, oats, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, indigo, silk, wine and cotton.* The tobacco is of a quality superior to that of Virginia; and the crops of wheat are larger than in any other part of America.

The common growth of Indian corn is from 60 to 80 bushels to the acre.* The low lands are well suited to the production of nearly all the above articles, except wheat. where the large bottoms are interspersed with small streams, they are well adapted to the growth of rice; which may be produced in any quantities. The borders of the large streams do not generally admit of this crop, as very few of them overflow their banks. But the scarcity of natural rice swamps is amply compensated by the remarkable healthfulness of the whole country; it being entirely free from stagnant waters. It is found, in this country, that stagnant waters are by no means necessary to the growth of rice; the common rich bottoms produce this crop in as great perfection as the best rice swamps of the southern States. Hops are the natural production of this country; as are peaches, plumbs, pears, apples, melons, and almost every fruit of the temperate zone.

No country is better stocked with wild game of every kind: Innumerable herds of deer, elk, buffaloe, and bear, are sheltered in the groves, and fed in the extensive bottoms that every where abound; an unquestionable proof of the great fertility of the soil: Turkeys, geese, ducks, swans, teal, pheasants, partridges, &c. are, from observation, believed to be in greater plenty here, than the tame poultry are in any part of the old settlements in America.

THE rivers are well stored with fish of various kinds, and many of them of an excellent quality. They are generally large, though of different sizes: The cat-fish, which is the largest, and of a delicious flavour, weighs from 30 to 80 pounds.

PROVISIONS will, for many years, find a ready market on any of these rivers; as settlers are constantly coming in from all parts of the world, and must be supplied by purchase, for one year at least, with many articles.

*General Parsons, one of the Commissioners of the treaty at Miami, in 1786, has made in his journal the following note: "Mr. Dawson has lived two summers at this place—(Little Beaver, near Pennsylvania west line)—He says, his corn is from 80 to 100 bushels per acre: Last year, he planted 7 acres—plowed twice before planting, and hoed once only—and had 600 bushels."

Second. FROM its situation and productions, no country is so well calculated for the establishment of manufacturers of various kinds. Provisions will be forever plenty and cheap. The raw materials for fabricating most of the articles of clothing and dress, are and will be the luxuriant production of this country. Though silk, cotton and flax are valuable in themselves, yet, by being wrought into the various articles of use and ornament, the expence of transportation is proportionably lessened. The United States, and, perhaps, other countries, will be supplied from these interior parts of America.

SHIPBUILDING will be a capital branch of business on the Ohio and its confluent streams. The Ohio, when at the lowest, admits of four fathom of water, from the mouth of the Muskingum to its confluence with the Mississippi, except at the rapids, which, at such times, interrupt the navigation for about one mile. The descent, in that distance, is only 15 feet; and the channel, which is 250 yards wide, has, at no time, less than 5 feet of water. In freshes, the water rises 30 feet; and boats are not only rowed against the stream, but ascend the rapids by means of their sails only. It is the opinion of the Geographer, and others who have viewed the spot, that, by cutting a canal a little more than a half a mile on the south side of the river, which is low meadow ground, the rapids may be avoided, and the navigation made free at all seasons of the year. Hemp, timber and iron will be plenty and good; and the high freshes, from February to April, and frequently in October and November, will bear a vessel of any burden over the rapids, in their present state, and out to sea.

THE following observations, by an English engineer, who had explored the western country, were addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, in the year 1770, when Secretary of State for the North American department—at a time when we were British colonies, and our country considered only as the handmaid to Great

Britain, in furnishing raw materials for their manufactures.

"No part of North America will require less encouragement for the production of naval stores and raw materials for manufactories in Europe; and for supplying the West-India islands with lumber, provisions, &c. than the country of the Ohio—and for the following reasons:

"1. THE lands are excellent—the climate, temperate; the native grapes, silk-worms, and mulberry trees, abound every where; hemp, hops and rye grow spontaneously in the vallies & low lands; lead & iron ore are plenty in the hills; salt springs are innumerable; and no soil is better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

"2. THE country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other; by which, and a short land carriage the produce of the lands of the Ohio can even now be sent cheaper to the seaport town of Alexandria on the river Potowmac where General Braddock's transports landed his troops, than any kind of merchandise is sent from Northampton to London.

"3. THE river Ohio is, at *all seasons* of the year, navigable with large boats; and, from the month of February to April, large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent to sea, laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, tobacco, cotton, &c.

"4. FLOUR, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other useful articles, can be sent down the stream of Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the West India islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia to those islands.

"5. HEMP, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles, may be sent down the stream of Ohio to the sea at least 50 per cent. cheaper than these articles were ever carried by a land carriage of only 60 miles in Pennsylvania, where waggonage is cheaper than in any other part of North-America.

"6. THE expence of transporting European manufacturers from the sea to the Ohio will not be so much as is now paid, and ever must be paid, to a great part of the counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. Whenever the farmers or merchants of Ohio shall properly understand the business of transportation, they will build schooners, sloops, &c. on the Ohio, suitable for the West India or European markets; or, by having black walnut, cherry tree, oak, &c. properly sawed for foreign markets, and formed into rafts, in the manner that is now done by the settlers near the upper parts of the Delaware in Pennsylvania, and thereon stow their hemp, iron, tobacco, &c. and proceed with them to New Orleans.

"It may not, perhaps, be amiss to observe, that large quantities of flour are made in the western counties of Pennsylvania, and sent, by expensive land carriage, to the city of Philadelphia; and from thence shipped to South Carolina, and East and West Florida—there being little or no wheat raised in these provinces. The river Ohio seems kindly designed, by nature, as the channel, through which the two Floridas may be supplied with flour, not only for their own consumption, but also for carrying on an extensive commerce with Jamaica, and the Spanish settlements in the Bay of Mexico. Millstones, in abundance, are to be obtained in the hills near the Ohio; and the country is every where well watered with large and constant springs and streams for grist and other mills. The passage from Philadelphia to Pensacola is seldom made in less than a month; and 60 shillings sterling per ton freight (consisting of 16 barrels) is usually paid for flour, &c. thither. Boats, carrying 500 or 1000 barrels of flour, may go in about the same time from Pittsburgh, as from Philadelphia, to Pensacola, and for half the above freight. The Ohio merchants could deliver flour, &c. there, in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the sea, and charges of insurance, &c. as

from thence to Pensacola. This is not mere speculation; for it is a fact, that about the year 1746 there was a scarcity of provisions at New Orleans; and the French settlements at the Illinois, small as they then were, sent thither, in one winter, upwards of eight hundred thousand weight of flour."

IF, instead of furnishing other nations with raw materials, companies of manufacturers from Europe could be introduced and established in this inviting situation, under the superintendence of men of property, it would occasion an immense addition of men and wealth to these new settlements, and serve as a beneficial example of economy to many parts of the United States.

Third. IN the late ordinance of Congress, for disposing of the western lands as far down as the river Sioto, the provision that is made for schools and the endowment of an university, looks with a most favourable aspect upon the settlement, and furnishes the presentiment, that, by a proper attention to the subject of education, under these advantages, the field of science may be greatly enlarged, and the acquisition of useful knowledge placed upon a more respectable footing here, than in any other part of the world. Besides the opportunity of opening a new and unexplored region for the range of natural history, botany and the medical science, there will be one advantage which no other part of the earth can boast, and which probably will never again occur—that, in order to begin *right*, there will be no *wrong* habits to combat, and no inveterate systems to overturn—there is no rubbish to remove, before you can lay the foundation. The first settlement will unbosom many men of the most liberal minds—well versed in the world, in business and every useful science. Could the necessary apparatus be procured, and funds immediately established, for founding a university on a liberal plan, that professors might be active in their various researches and employments—even now, in the infancy of the settle-

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ment, a proper use might be made of an advantage which will never be repeated.

MANY political benefits would immediately result to the United States from such an early institution in that part of the country. The people in the Kentucky and Illinois countries are rapidly increasing. Their distance from the old States will prevent their sending their children thither for instruction; from the want of which they are in danger of losing all their habits of government, and allegiance to the United States: But, on seeing examples of government, science, and regular industry, follow them into the neighborhood of their own country, they would favour their children with these advantages, and revive the ideas of order, citizenship, and the useful sciences. This attention, from these neighbouring people, would increase the wealth and population of the new proposed settlement.

Fourth. IN the ordinance of Congress, for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio, it is provided that, after the said territory acquires a certain degree of population it shall be divided into states, the eastern State, that is thus provided to be made, is bounded on the Great Miami on the west, and by the Pennsylvania line on the east. The centre of this state will fall between the Sioto and the Hockhocking. At the mouth of one of these rivers, will probably be the seat of government for this State: And, if we may indulge the sublime contemplation of beholding the whole territory of the United States settled by an enlightened people, and continued, under one extended government—on the river Ohio, and not far from this spot, will be the seat of empire for the whole dominion. This is central to the whole; it will best accommodate every part; it is the most pleasant, and probably the most healthful.

ALTHO' it is an object of importance, that Congress should soon fix on a seat of government—yet, in the present state of the country, it is presumed, it will not be thought best that such seat be considered as im-

movably fixed. To take the range of the Alleghany mountains from north to south, it is probably 20 years will not elapse, before there will be more people on the western than on the eastern waters of the United States. The settlers ought even now to have it in view, that government will forever accommodate them as much as their brethren on the east: This may be necessary, to prevent their forming schemes of independence, seeking other connexions, and providing for their separate convenience. As it is the most exalted and benevolent object of legislation that ever was aimed at, to unite such an amazingly extensive people, and make them happy, under one jurisdiction, every act of Congress under the new constitution by looking forward to this object, will, we trust, inculcate and familiarize the idea. They will, no doubt, at an early period, make a reservation or purchase of a suitable tract of land for a federal town, that will be central to the whole; and give some public intimation of such intention to transfer the seat of government, on the occurrence of certain events—such as, comparative population, &c. This would render such transfer easily practicable, by preventing the occasion of uneasiness in the old States; while it would not appear to be the result of danger, or the prospect of revolt, in the new.

EXTRACTS

From the Letters of M. St. John De Crevecoeur, Consul of France for the Middle States in America—lately published in Europe.

“THE Ohio is the grand *Artery* of that part of America beyond the mountains; it is the centre where all the waters meet, which on one side run from the Alleghany mountains, and on the other come from the high land in the vicinity of the lakes Erie and Michigan.

“It has been calculated, that the region watered by those rivers, &c. comprised between Pittsburgh and

the Mississippi, contains at least 260,000 square miles, equal to 166,920,000 acres. It is, without a doubt, the most fertile country . . . the most diversified and best watered soil, and that which offers to agriculture and commerce the most abundant and easy resources, of all those that the Europeans have heretofore discovered and peopled.

"It was on the 10th of April, at eight o'clock in the morning, that we quitted the key of Pittsburgh, and gave ourselves up to the current of the Ohio."

"THIS sweet and tranquil navigation appeared to me like an agreeable dream: Every moment presented to me new perspectives which were incessantly diversified by the appearance of the islands, points, and the windings of the river, without intermission . . . changed by this singular mixture of shores more or less woody; whence the eye escaped, from time to time, to observe the great natural meadows which presented themselves, incessantly, embellished by promontories of different heights, which for a moment seemed to hide, and then gradually unfolded to the eyes of the navigator, the bays and inlets, more or less extensive, formed by the creeks and rivulets which fall into the Ohio. What majesty in the mouths of the great rivers which we passed! Their waters seemed to be as vast and as profound as those of the river upon which we floated! I never before felt myself so much disposed for meditation: My imagination involuntarily leaped into futurity; the absence of which was not afflicting, because it appeared to me nigh—I saw those beautiful shores ornamented with decent houses, covered with harvests and well cultivated fields; on the hills exposed to the north, I saw orchards regularly laid out in squares; on the others, vineyard plats, plantations of mulberry trees, locust, &c. I saw there, also, in the inferior lands, the cotton tree, and the sugar maple, the sap of which had become an object of commerce. I agree, however, that all those banks did not appear to me equally proper for culture; but, as they will probably

remain covered by their native forests, it must add to the beauty, to the variety, of this future spectacle.—What an immense chain of plantations! What a long succession of activity, industry, culture, and commerce, is here offered to the American!—I consider then, the settling of the lands, which are watered by this river, as one of the finest conquests that could ever be presented to man; it will be so much the more glorious, as it will be legally acquired of the ancient proprietors, and will not exact a single drop of blood—It is destined to become the source of force, riches, and the future glory of the United States.

“TOWARDS noon, on the third day, we anchored at the mouth of the Muskingum, in two fathoms and an half of water. In order to give you a weak idea of what I call the Anatomy of the Ohio, I will speak to you of this river, and let you have a glimpse of what will one day be the utility of all its branches. It falls into the Ohio 172 miles from Pittsburgh, and is 120 fathoms wide; it is deep, and navigable for large vessels to 147 miles in the inner part of the lands; its current is moderate, and never overflows the banks, which are elevated, without being steep; one of its branches approaches all at once the greatest of the sources of the Sioto, called the Seccaum, and the river Sandusky; this last falls, as you know, into the great bay of the same name, at the bottom of the lake Erie. It is towards one of the principal branches of the Muskingum, that the great savage village of Tuscarawa is built; whence a carriage of two miles lead to the river Cayahoga, deep and rather rapid, the mouth of which, in lake Erie, forms an excellent harbour for ships of 200 tons. This place seems to be designed for a spot for a town; and many persons of my acquaintance have already thought of it. All the travellers and hunters have spoken to me with admiration of the fertility of the plains and hills watered by the Muskingum; also, of the excellent fountains, salt pits, coal mines (particu-

larly that of Lamenchicola), of free stones, &c. that they find throughout.

"It was on the fourth morning, at day-break, we weighed anchor; and, in the space of three days of sweet and tranquil navigation, anchored before the Sioto, 218 miles from the Muskingum, and 390 from Pittsburgh, in order to receive on board General Richard Butler, who came from finishing some negotiations with the Shawanese: It is to him I am indebted for the following particulars of that fine river, upon the banks of which he had resided during five years of the war.

"THE Sioto is almost as large as the Ohio; its current is navigable, for vessels of a middle size, to the village of Seccaium, 111 miles from its mouth. At this village commences the grand portage of Sandusky, which is but four miles a communication much frequented by whites and savages, and consequently of the greatest importance. This river waters a champaign country, very luxuriant and extensive.

"THOSE vast lands, so well known under the name of the plains of Sioto, begin some miles above the river Kuskinkas, and continue almost to Seccaium: They are watered by the pretty rivulets of Alaman, Deer, Kispoko, &c. and by a great number of more considerable streams: It is towards their sources, that you have a view of the fine villages of the Shawanese nation. Many of them are from 25 to 30 miles in circumference; and, as if nature had been willing to render them still more useful to man, she has covered them with gentle risings, upon which she has planted the finest trees. These plains are never overflowed, and their fertility is most admirable. If a poor man, who has nothing but his arms to support him, should ask of me, where shall I go to establish myself in order to live more at my ease without the aid of oxen or horses? I would say to him, go upon the banks of some rivulet on the plains of the Sioto; there you will obtain permission of the savages of the neighbouring villages to

scratch the surface of the earth, and deposit your rye, your corn, your potatoes, your cabbages, your tobacco, &c. leave the rest to nature; and, during her operations, amuse yourself with fishing and hunting."

"EVERY spring a prodigious number of storks come to inhabit these plains; they are at least six feet high; while feeding, they have their centinels to watch, and announce the approach of danger; some time before their departure they assemble in large flocks, and upon a certain day, all together, raise themselves slowly, and, by a kind of circular ascent, describe large spiral paths in their flight.

"FINALLY, on the 10th day after our departure from Pittsburgh, we anchored before Louisville, having made 705 miles of navigation, in 212 hours and thirty minutes of time."

II

STATEMENT BY CUTLER AND SARGENT
TO THE BOARD OF THE TREASURY,
JULY 26, 1787*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

An examination of the Records of the Ohio Company during the negotiations with Congress for the purchase leaves the impression that some of the notes and letters which passed between the representatives of the Ohio Company and the committee of Congress have disappeared. This statement by Cutler and Sargent appears to be one of these fugitives from the company's archives. Congress on July 23 had authorized the Treasury Board to enter into a contract with the representatives of the Ohio Company. On July 26 Cutler and Sargent submitted this explanation of the conditions of the purchase acceptable to themselves. The third paragraph shows how thoroughly the Scioto Purchase had been grafted onto the original proposal. The first two payments covered the Ohio Company's real purchase, the installment feature covered the option on the Scioto lands which later fell through from inability to raise the funds with which to meet the annual payments. The "powerfull barrier" argument is pressed in the conclusion as a final reason why Congress should meet the terms proposed by the Ohio Company.

DOCUMENT

Gentlemen,

New York, July 26, 1787.

We observe by the act of the 23rd instant that your honorable board is authorised to enter into a contract for the sale of a tract of land therein described on

*Published in part in the Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications, Vol. III, 135.

certain conditions expressed in the act. As we suppose this measure has been adopted in consequence of proposals made by us, in behalf of ourselves and associates, to a Committee of Congress, we beg leave to inform you, that we are ready to enter into a contract for the purchase of the lands described in the act; provided you can conceive yourself authorised to admit of the following conditions, which in some degree vary from the report of the Committee, Viz.

The subordinate surveys shall be compleated as mentioned in the act, unless the frequency of Indian interruptions may render the same impracticable without an heavy expence to the Company.—

The mode of payment we propose is half a million of dollars when the contract is executed; another half million when the tract as discribed is surveyed by the proper Officer of the United States; and the remainder is six equal payments computed from the date of the second payment.—

The lands assigned for the establishment of an University to be nearly as possible the Center of the first million and half Acres we shall pay for, for to fix it in the center of the proposed purchase might too long defer the establishment.—

When the second payment shall be made the purchasers shall receive a deed for as great a quantity of land as a million of dollars will pay for at the price agreed on—after which we will agree not to receive any further deeds for any of the lands purchased, only as such period and on such conditions as may be agreed on between the board and the purchasers.—

As to the security which the act says shall be good be and sufficient we are unable to determin what those terms may mean in the contemplation of Congress or of your honorable board.—We shall therefore only observe, that our private fortunes and that of most of our associates be embarked in the support of the purchase it is not possible for us to offer any adiquate

security, but that of the land itself as is usual in great land purchases.—

We will agree to regulate so to regulate the contract, that we shall never be entitled to a right of entry or occupancy but on lands actually paid for, nor receive any deed till our payments amount to a million of dollars, and then only in proportion to such payments.

The advance we shall always be under without any formal deed, together with the improvements we made on the lands will we presume be ample security even if it were not the interest as well as the disposition of the Company to lay the foundation of their establishment on a sacre regard to the rights of Posterity.

If these terms are admitted we shall be ready to conclude the contract. If not we shall have to regret for a numerous class of our Associates, that the certificates they received as specie at the risk of their lives and fortune in support of the common cause, must for a considerable time longer wait the tedious and precarious issue of public events; (altho' they are willing their right in them on terms advantageous to the public) and that the United States may lose an opportunity of securing in the most effectual manner, as well as improving the value of their western Territory, whilst they establish a powerful barrier against the irruption of the Indians or any attempts of the British power to interrupt the security of the adjoining States.

We have the honour to be with the greatest respect, for ourselves and

Associates.

Gentlemen

Your Obedient Humble servants

Man^h Cutler

The Honorable

Winthrop Sargeant.

(signed)

The Board of Treasury.

Compared with the original in the Office of the board of Treasury

(signed) W^m Duer Secty.

III

A FINANCIAL STATEMENT BY THE
TREASURER OF THE OHIO COMPANY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The chief value of the treasurer's statement like that of the receipt which accompanies it is in the clear evidence of the share of Duer and the other Associates of the Scioto group in enabling the Ohio Company to meet its first payment. General Parsons had proposed on behalf of the Ohio Company in May, 1787, a three hundred thousand dollar purchase. Cutler and Sargent inspired and aided by the group of practised financiers about the Treasury Department found a way to enlarge the project appreciably.

DOCUMENT

New York Nov. 13th 1788—

I do hereby Certify, that on y^e 27th of Oct^r 1787 when I made the first payment for the Ohio Company, their actual funds paid into my hands amounted to only Three Hundred & fifty six Thousand, & seven Hundred & twenty one & 47-90 dollars; and that the Ballance of one Hundred and forty Three Thousand, two Hundred & seventy eight & 43-90 dollars was the property of the Associates of the Scioto Company, & loaned to the first mentioned Company, for y^e purpose of compleating their first payment, upon Conditions of being reimbursed out of y^e first Securities afterward to be paid into my hands by the agents of y^e Ohio Company, which has since been done.

Rich^d Platt

Treas^r. of y^e Ohio Company

(A true Copy)

Securities received from the Agents to y^e 27th
Oct^r. 1787, inclusive.

| | | Dollars— | |
|---|---------------------------------------|-----------|--|
| Winthrop Sargent | 4 th Oct ^r 1787 | 5,135.38 | |
| | 20 th | 32,083.18 | |
| | 22 ^d | 18,290.67 | |
| | 26 th | 20,673.13 | |
| | 27 | 1,901.83 | |
| | | | 78,084.39 |
| Eben ^r Sprout | 10 th | 21,344.35 | |
| | 11 th | 655.10 | |
| | 27 th | 1,991.71 | |
| | | | 23,991.26 |
| Benj ^a Talmage | 12 th | 10,109.18 | |
| | 18 th | 1,513.46 | |
| | | | 11,622.64 |
| Archibald Crary | 13 th | 38,639.84 | |
| | 25 th | 803.53 | |
| | | | 39,443.47 |
| William Corlis | 18 th | 72,655.32 | |
| | 22 ^d | 999.12 | |
| | | | 73,654.34 |
| Eliphalet Downer | 20 th | 11,774.52 | |
| | 22 ^d | 1,983 — | |
| | 26 th | 448 — | |
| | | | 14,205.52 |
| Henry Jackson | 22 ^d | | 24,575.60 |
| John May | 22 ^d | | 3,004.73 |
| Benj ^a Tupper | 22 ^d | | 14,268.06 |
| Joel Barlow | 22 ^d | | 9,848.40 |
| Manasseh Cutler | 22 ^d | 63,024.43 | |
| | 26 th | 998.13 | |
| | | | 64,022.56 |
| | | | 356,721.47 |
| Paid in by y ^e Associates of y ^e Scioto Company | | | 143,278.43 |
| | | | 500,000.— |
| | | | Rich ^d Platt Treas ^r . Ohio Company. |

(true copy)

IV

THE SUBSCRIPTION OF THE PROPRIETORS
OF THE OHIO COMPANY FOR A PUBLIC
SCHOOL TEACHER AT MARIETTA

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The document is a concrete example of the real interest of the proprietors in the colony.

DOCUMENT

WHEREAS the Agents of the OHIO COMPANY, at their Meeting in *Providence*, State of *Rhode-Island*, upon the Seventh Day of *March* inst. passed the following Resolutions:

“That the Directors be requested to pay as early Attention as possible to the Education of Youth, and the Promotion of public Worship, among the first Settlers; and that, for these important Purposes, they employ, if practicable, an Instructor eminent for literary Accomplishments, and the Virtue of his Character; who shall also superintend the first scholastic Institutions, and direct the Manner of Instruction. And to enable the Directors to carry into Execution the Intentions expressed in this Resolve, the Proprietors, and others of liberal and benevolent Minds, are earnestly requested to contribute, by voluntary Donation, to the forming of a Fund to be solely appropriated thereto.—That the Agents will exert themselves in promoting Subscriptions, and paying the Monies they may collect into the Treasury; and the Treasurer is to report to the Directors, at or before their next Meeting.”

And whereas the Directors of the said Company, by their vote of the same Day, have fully approved of the Resolutions aforesaid, and have added their Solicitations to the Request of the Agents:

WE therefore, the Subscribers, anxious to promote and encourage so laudable an Undertaking, do, each one for himself, promise to pay to any one of the Agents of the OHIO COMPANY the Sums respectively annexed to our Names.

March, 1788,

James Bowdoin 900 Dol^{rs} in Interest notes, paid Col^o May.

Thomas Russell 500 Dollars of Hardys Indents p^d ditto

Benj: Cobb 200 Doller in Indents Ditt—

John May 100 Dollars in Indents

Jos: May 200 Dollars Indents p^d D^o

W^m Breck 100 Dollars Indents p^d

Elisha Ticknor 100 Dollars Indents p^d

E. Gerry 200 Dollars Indents paid Colo May

Eben^r Dow 100 Dollars Indents paid

Russell Sturges one hundred Dollars indⁿ p^d Colo May

Jos: May, a Bell for the first public Building erected in the New City—

Eben. Wales 100 Dollars Indents

Azor G. Archbald—a Bible for the first publick Building erected in the New City the s^d Bible to be of the first Quality

Thomas Blake Eighty eight Dollars in Indents paid.

W- Dall 100 Dollars Interest Indents paid.

N.B. the above indents mentioned as paid me, are the Intrest of the finall settlements in the hands of Col^o R. Platt; which I have not yett received of him, Nor Can I, untill the second payment is maid the Board of Treasury.

400 Dollars of James Bowdoin Winthrop Sergant is agent for which sum Maddam Bowdoin has directed him to pay me.

V

THE CONTRACT OF THREE LABORERS WITH
JOHN MAY

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Three laborers agree with John May, March 28, 1788, to work in Marietta for six months for \$4 a month, transportation and provisions to be furnished by the employer.

DOCUMENT

Boston March 28th 1788—

We the subscribers Do hereby Acknowledge that we have this day agreed with John May Esq— of Boston, and Do hereby Lett ourselves to Labour for him on his plantation in the Ohio Country, for the full term of Six months from and after the first day of April Next Comeing—and we Do freely and fully consent that we will be subject to his Order, and Do such work as he may have occation for, according to the best of our abillities, on Consideration thereof the Said John May agrees to and with the Subscribers that he will pay thire transportation to the above-Mentioned Country, that he wil provid for them good & wholsum food; and will pay them four Dollars p^r Month in Cash at the expiration of the Said Six months or in Lands, at the then going Cash price—

Joseph Ransford
Joseph Williams
Walter Tufts

VI

ORIGINAL RECORD OF THE FIRST POLICE
WEST OF THE OHIO RIVER

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Directors of the Ohio Company instituted local government and acted as a Board of Police. In the latter capacity they created and organized a local military body.

DOCUMENT

This is to Certify that the Board of Police, on the Banks of Muskingum, at a meeting on the Thirteenth Day June, 1788. Have appointed, Col^o Archib^d Crary, Col^o John May, Col^o Eb^r Battle, Col^o Alex. Oliver, Col^o W^m Stacy, Maj^r Samuel Phillips, And Capt. Oliver Rice, Officers to Command the Company (not in pay of the Ohio Company) formed by Regulations of said Board

W^m Corlis, Sec^y

Muskingum June 20th, 1788

VII

ORIGINAL RECORD OF THE ESTABLISHMENT
MILITARY DISCIPLINE,

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The document is like those which immediately follow an interesting bit of evidence on the procedure of a frontier community with problems of defence and civil organization.

DOCUMENT

Banks of Muskingum 22nd June 1788—

The gentlemen appointed by the board of Police to act as officers in the military department, until the establishment thereof by His Excellency the govournor & the Judges appointed by Congress for this purpose, met this day & made the following arangment which they beg leave to report to the Honorable board
Viz—

Liut Col W^m Stacey. 4th

Coll^o Archabald Crary 1st Leut Col^o Alex^r Oliver 5th

Coll^o Eben^r Battelle 2nd Major Sam^l Phillips 6th

Coll^o John May 3rd Cap^t Oliver Rice 7.

The above gentlemén have appointed the following to act as Subalterns.— M^r. Samuel Stebbins. Adjutant

M^r. W^m Gridley 7th

Major Dean Tyler 1st M^r Daniel Dunham 8th

Leiut Charles Green 2nd M^r Benjamin Stile 9th

M^r. Wanton Casey 3rd M^r H. H. Williams 10th

M^r James Backus 4th M^r Gray 11th

M^r. Isaac Pierce 5th M^r Cory 12th

M^r Paul Fearing 6th M^r Josiah White 13th

They have allso aranged those who are to act as Private Soldiers in such manner as they think will be for the intrest of the establishment

P^r Order John May Secretary Military.

N. B. June 24th

there was an addition to the above officers of Three
Viz^t

Col^o Sprout who ranks 2nd

Cap^t Cooper 8th

Cap^t Devell 9th

Cap^t Rice altered 10th

(Endorsed Report of officers to the Board of Police
June 24th 1788.)

VIII

MILITIA ORDERS AND BY-LAWS OF MARIETTA

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The manuscript was a note-book prepared by John May. It contains a list of the Militia at Marietta, June 22, 1788. There were 11 officers and 76 non-commissioned officers and privates. Of the 87 men in the list 21 were proprietors in the Ohio Company. The list is followed by the by-laws of the Board of Police. These are an invaluable source for the internal organization and local government of the colony during the first weeks of its existence. They contain one rule not common in American History. The board of police appointed an officer "whose duty it shall be to obtain returns of all persons in the settlement," lists with the names, occupations, and places from which the inhabitant came, and placed upon the travellers or immigrants the duty of reporting themselves to the officer within 24 hours after their arrival. The by-laws add the clause "should any person or persons arrive on the ground not being proprietors the board shall decide upon the propriety of residence." This ordinance illustrates the reversion of these western Puritans to early New England attempts to regulate immigration.

DOCUMENT

LIST OF THE MILITARY AT MUSKINGUM—

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|------|----|------|-----------------|
| Coll ^o Crary | 1 | June | 23 | July | 3 rd |
| Coll ^o Sprout | 2 | — | 42 | — | 4 th |
| Coll ^o Battelle | 3 | — | 25 | — | 5 th |
| Lieut. Coll ^o Stacey | 4 | — | 26 | — | 6 th |
| Lieut. Col ^o Oliver | 5 | — | 27 | — | 7 th |
| Major Phillips | 6 | — | 28 | — | 8 th |
| Capt. Munro | 7 | — | 29 | — | 9 th |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|----|------|-----------------|---|------------------|
| Capt. Cooper | 8 | — | 30 | — | 10 th |
| Capt Devell | 9 | July | 1 st | — | 11 th |
| Capt Rice | 10 | — | 2 | — | 12 th |
| Col° Crary | | | | | 13 th |
| Col° Sprout | | | | | 14 th |
| Col Battelle | | | | | 15 th |
| Lieut. Col° Stacy | | | | | 19 th |
| Oliver | | | | | |
| Major Phillips | | | | | 20 th |
| Capt. Munro | | | | | 16 th |
| Capt. Cooper | | | | | 21 |
| Capt. Devell | | | | | 17 |
| Capt. Rice | | | | | 18 |

Officers

| | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| Col° Crary | 1 st |
| Col° Battelle | 2 nd |
| Col° May | 3 rd |
| Lieut. Col° Stacy | 4 th |
| Leut. Col° Oliver | 5 th |
| Major Phillips | 6 th |
| Capt. Munro | 7 |
| Capt. Coop | 8 |
| Capt. Devell | 9 |
| Capt. Rice | 10 th |

Acting Non commissioned officers

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------|
| Dean Tyler | 1 st | 22 nd | June |
| Charles Green | 2 nd | 23 rd | |
| Wanton Casey | 3 rd | 24 th | |
| James Backus | 4 th | | |
| Isaac Pierce | 5 th | | |
| Paul Fearing | 6 th | | |
| Will ^m Gridley | 7 th | | |
| Daniel Dunham | 8 th | | |
| Benja ^m Still | 9 th | | |
| Henry H. Williams | 10 th | | |
| Sam ^l Stebbins Orderly | 11 th | | |
| M ^r . Gray | | | |
| M ^r . Cory | | | |
| M ^r . White | | | |

Privates.

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Russell Arlington | Stephen Pierce |
| Asa Babcock | Jeseph Ransford |
| Benj ^m Baker | John Russell |
| Joshua Chever | Benjamin Slocum |
| Lott Chever | Wm. Smith |
| Danuel Cogshall | Slvester Eldrige |
| Daniel Cogsall Jun ^r | Alpheous Russell |
| Arnold Celt | John Stacey |
| Walter Casey | Richard Elliott |
| Layton Dick | John Skinner |
| Thomas Hughes | Nath ^l Stanwood |
| Nath ^l Helms | Jabish True |
| Selah Hart | Breton Perry |
| Amos Harvey | Joseph Levins |
| Benoni Hubbart | John Hubbard |
| | Walter Tufts |
| Samuel Hefferd | Trueman Hubbard |
| James Johnson | Jerysh Williams |
| Stephen Kenion | Eben ^r Attwood |
| Thomas Lord | Elijah Attwood |
| James Leach | Daniel Cumstock |
| Samuel Mitchell | W ^m Cumstock |
| Benjamin Sargeant | Asa Woodwerth |
| Hezekiah Medcalf | Aaron Clough |
| Andrew McClure | Abraham Green |
| James Minott | James Gee |
| Thophilus Night | Nath ^l Stanwood |
| Silvenus Newton | John Smith |
| Robert Newell | Oliver Fuller |
| William Norton | Sivester Fuller |
| John Miller | Hezekiah Reed |
| Solomon Eldrige | Aaron Barlow |
| James Owens | Simeon Wright |

Orders for the 24 June 1788—

Col^o John May is appointed to make the details for the officers of the day, the officers of the day will report to the board and the officer of the Guard will report to the officer of the day, and receive directions from

him; the officer of the day will be appointed in the proportion of members between those officers, appointed by the board and then appointed by the Superintendent.—

Regulations ordered by the Board of Police at Muskingum River June 13th 1788 & Continue in force untill the establishment of Government by the Governor and Judges.—

The directors and agents of the Ohio Company, at a meeting on the banks of Muskingum the 13 day of June considering the necessity of Temperary arrangements untill the governor of the united States can be fully known and executed, decided, that the directors present *be a board of Police* to execute for the time being, the powers of government.

The board wishing to advance as far as possible the best objects of the settlement, to prevent the Confusions arising from a state of anarchy appoint Jonathan Return Meigs Esq^r to be an officer of *Police* whose duty it shall be to execute such regulations as may tend to cleanliness health decency or vitlity and propriety of moral conduct he shall pay a strict regard to the Rules of the board, from time to time, to be made known & in causes occasionally arising, he shall decide according to his discretion allowing an appeal to the *board* if demanded on the Spott. He shall report dayley such regulations as he may think necessary to be returned, adopted or rejected and all matters all occurrences, in case of obstruction in the execution of his duty, the S^d officers of Police shall demand aid of the Commander of the Military who shall grant it immediately.

The appointed W^m Curtis Esq^r Secretary; whose duty it shall be to obtain perfect returns of all persons in the settlement and of Such as Shall from time to time come on the ground Lists shall by him be kept of the name ages occupations, places from whence they came and destination, all persons coming into the settlement Shall report themselves, or if in the service

of others be reported to the Secretary in 24 hours next after there arrivall.

Should any person or persons arrive on the ground not being proprietors the board shall decide upon the propriety of residence.

Military duty as Established by the Superintendant of the Com^y affairs be Continued, and the guard shall be doubled upon the same establishment only that the settlers not in the pay of the Company. Shall at present furnish one half the guard;—the Settlers shall be formed into a Corps distinct from the Corps in pay of the Company.—under the Command of the who shall be fully invested with the powers of detaching upon Notice given to the duty before mentioned parad or any other duty of Safety and defence. The directors and military commanders or Ither of them, may point out to which purpose all effectives between ages of fifteen & fifty, shall be considered as forming one Corps under there Command, distinct from those in the way of the Company but Subject to the Command of the Superintendent there shall be an officer of the day regularly appointed to attend to the execution of military duty. No person shall go into the fields to Labour or without the Limitts of the field, upon any pretentions whatever without arms. No person shall go beyond the limmitts of the field without Leave from the Commander of the Troops or the officer of the day.

No firing shall be allowed in or near the Streets, no fireing shall be allowed to fire on the first day of the week except in cases of attack.—the Corps shal parade on first days of the week, for examination in suits on &c. under there respective officers

Punishments shall consist of Labour for the the Publisck or expultion according to the nature of the Crime but in cases of high offence be fined by common Law the Judges of the Territry will be reported to—

upon the fourteenth day of June 1788 at the settlement upon the banks of the Muskingum the residents wer conveened, and the ordinance of Congress for

establishing a government in the territory of the United States North west of the river Ohio, the Commissions of the Judges in Said Territory and the preceeding Rules & Regulations were read declared and proclaimed for the present observation, Conduct, & Government of the people.—

WARRANT

Muskingum, 20th June, 1788—

this is to certify that the board of police on the banks of Muskingum at a Meeting the thirteenth day of June 1788. Have appointed Col^o Arch. Crary Col^o John Mary Col^o Eben^r Battell, Lut. Col^o Alex^r Oliver Lut. Col^o Stacey. Major Samⁱ Phillips & Capt. Oliver Rice, officers to Command the Companies(not in pay of the Ohio Company. formed by regulation of Said Board—

William Corlis. Sec^r Police.

The board of Police Order and direct, that No person Shall enter into traffick, or Commerce with the Indians or any of them without a permission from the board or General Harmer (in which last Case the Same Shall be registered with the Secretary) upon the penalty of forfeitting the articals Given & Received in exchang, and Such Other punishment not extending to life or Limb, as the Judges may inflict.

No person shal enter into traffick or Commerce with any non Commissioned officer or, or private Soldier in the pay of the United States, without a regular permision from General Harmer, or the Commanding officer for the time being

by order of the Police

W. C. Secretary—

Muskingum June 9th 1788—

Nor shal any non-commissioned officer, or Soldier, be supplied with Spirritous licquers, expecting by the Sutlers Regularly appointed or to be appointed by General Harmer, or the Commanding officer of any garrison post Station or Command.—

W. C. Act—

The first of these is the fact that the
University of Chicago has been
founded by a group of men who
were all of them men of letters
and of high standing in the
community.

The second is the fact that the
University of Chicago has been
founded by a group of men who
were all of them men of letters
and of high standing in the
community.

The third is the fact that the
University of Chicago has been
founded by a group of men who
were all of them men of letters
and of high standing in the
community.

The fourth is the fact that the
University of Chicago has been
founded by a group of men who
were all of them men of letters
and of high standing in the
community.

The fifth is the fact that the
University of Chicago has been
founded by a group of men who
were all of them men of letters
and of high standing in the
community.

IX

THE STATEMENT BY JOHN MAY AS CHAIR-
MAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON
DRAWING CITY LOTS

DOCUMENT

The Committee appointed to make the Necessary preparations & arangment for drawing the Citty-Lots on the East Side of Muskingum river, have attended that business and report that the Names & Numbers are prepared the Books Ruled & lined and the following Gentlemen appointed to attend this buisness.

Coll^o Eben^r Sprout to Call the Names

Col^o Arc^d Crary to Call the Numbers

M^r Barlow—to String the Names & Numbers

| | |
|--------|-----------|
| May | } Writer— |
| Meigs | |
| Corlis | |

Muskingum July 7th 1788. John May Chairman.

X

THE GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE AGENCIES OF THE OHIO COMPANY

DOCUMENT

Statement of the Agents Accounts in the Ohio Company for the purpose of apportioning that part of the Companies funds agreed to be Divided to the proprietors.

| | | | |
|--|-----|---------|--------|
| whole amount of Land to be Divided | 822 | 822,000 | 768838 |
| 750,000 | | | |
| 214,285 | | | |
| 964,285 makes 1173 acres to one Share and 79 acres over on the whole Dividend. | | | |

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THE GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE AGENCIES OF THE OHIO COMPANY

DOCUMENT

Statement of the Agents Accounts in the Ohio Company for the purpose of apportioning that part of the Companies funds agreed to be Divided to the proprietors.

| No. of Agents | Agents | Amount of payment on the Treasurers Books. | | Parents to be returned to Land warrants, but not reserve A Dividend | To be deducted for Shares Received for Cof. Plan | Number of Shares Returned by the Agents | Remaining Amount to Securities and Land Warrants | Reduction of Capital plus Warrants not Claiming a Dividend | Amount of Securities & Land Warrants Dividend offered to - | Speci. Deposits | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--------------|---|--|---|--|--|--|-----------------|---|
| | | Subscribed | Unsubscribed | | | | | | | Dollars Paid | Dollars Due |
| 1 | Benjamin Tupper | 20050 | 9850 | 100 | | 80 | 80,000 | (610 | 23390 | 171.70 | 128.20 |
| 2 | M. Cutler & Co. | 61574 | 24250 | 200 | | 86 | 86,000 | 14 164 | 71836 | 870 | {200 warrants paid by Mr. Cutler not to be charged. |
| 2 | Edward Harris | 22000 | 9000 | | | 31 | 31,000 | £ 334 | 25666 | 329.21 | |
| 4 | Eph ^m Cutler | 10000 | 3000 | | | 13 | 13,000 | 1334 | 11666 | 130. | |
| 5 | Nath ^l Freeman | 6853 | 1750 | 400 | | 9 | 9,000 | 1005 | 7995 | 90. | |
| 6 | Joel Barlow | 13163 | 4300 | 1600 | | 19 | 19,000 | £ 642 | 15357 | 227.22 | {800 warrants paid by Joel Barlow, but not to be charged. |
| 7 | Benjamin Talmage | 40286 | 6750 | | 4000 | 43 | 43,000 | | 43036 | 470. | |
| 8 | Rufus Putnam & Co. | 51700 | 7300 | | | 59 | 59,000 | | 59000 | 590. | |
| 9 | Henry Jackson | 11626 | 1100 | 300 | | 13 | 13,000 | 274 | 12726 | 130. | |
| 10 | Eben ^r Sprout | 36661 | 5700 | 700 | | 43 | 43,000 | 639 | 42361 | 340 | 90. |
| 11 | Elipt ^t Downer | 15645 | 1600 | 800 | | 18 | 18,000 | 755 | 17245 | 139.41 | 40.49 |
| 12 | W ^m Corlis | 104850 | 2300 | 900 | | 108 | 108,000 | 850 | 107150 | 1120. | {500 dollars in warrants by Wm. Corlis, not to be charged. |
| 13 | John May | 24700 | 10300 | | | 35 | 35,000 | 6184 | 28816 | 350. | |
| 14 | Winth ^e Sergeant | 134600 | 22400 | | 4000 | 153 | 153,000 | | 153000 | 1570. | |
| 15 | Arch ^d Cray | 69033 | | 4000 | 2000 | 71 | 71,000 | 3967 | 67033 | 60. | 670. |
| | | | | | | | | | | | {3400 warrants paid in by A. Cray, not to be charged. |
| 16 | Sam ^l H. Parsons | 82561 | | 3450 | | 91 | 91,000 | 8439 | 82561 | 392.1 | 517.89 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | {8050 warrants paid in by Sam ^l H. Parsons, not to be charged. |
| whole amount of Land to be Divided | | | | | | | | | | 822 | 822,000 |
| 750,000 | | | | | | | | | | 768838 | |
| 214,285 | | | | | | | | | | | |

904,285 makes 1173 acres to one Share and 79 acres over on the whole Dividend.

XI

THE PROTEST OF THE RHODE ISLAND
PROPRIETORS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Several members of the Ohio Company from Rhode Island, mostly persons who joined the company after the purchase had been made, did not understand the dual nature of the contract with the Treasury Board. It is quite likely that the secrecy which Colonel Duer enjoined upon the representatives of the Ohio Company was a factor in the misunderstanding. As the Scioto rights vanished and the narrower limits of the Ohio Company became evident the Rhode Island Associates in the Ohio Company imagined they had been defrauded out of something of value. Their complaint greatly annoyed the Directors of the Company and undoubtedly gave them no little embarrassment.

DOCUMENT

At a Meeting of the Proprietors in the Ohio Company of Newport and its Vicinity at the House of Cap^t John Lawtons Sep^r 20th 1788—

Information being made at this Meeting that the Agents who Contracted for a Quantity of Land N. West of the river Ohio in behalf of the Ohio Company are endeavouring with some other Persons to deprive said Company of the Benefit of a Greater part of said purchase altho every Step that hath been taken in contracting for said land and effecting a Settlement hath been Supported by the fund of Said Company Supplied equally by the proprietors and half a Million of Dollars advanced by them previous to the priviledge of entry and Occupancy—

Therefore it is unanimously agreed that Peleg Clark and William Vernon, Esq^r, Doct^r Isaac Scenter Thomas Rumreill Esq^r, and Cap^t W^m Littlefield

be a Committee to open a Correspondence with the proprietors in Providence & elsewhere respecting said Attempt to deprive said Company of their Right in s^d purchase informing them that the proprietors here are determined to Support their Claim by every Legal & fair measure and that they communicate from time to time every thing of importance they may receive through their correspondence and that they likewise Request the Sentiments of said proprietors Respecting the locating a Quantity of land to be disposed of at a low rate or given to Establish Settlers in such Situations as to Secure the Settlement from the irruptions of the Indians. A true Copy

Witness

Thomas Rumrell Clk to s^d Meeting

[Endorsement]

[Address—]

Tho^s. Rumrill

Newport Sepr. 25th. 1788

Sir

We inclose you a Note of the proprietors in the Ohio company in this place and Vicinity, appointing us a committee to open a correspondence with the proprietors in your state and elsewhere for the purpose therein mentioned:—

We conceive the attempt to deprive us of our right, highly ungenerous; and when we consider that ev'ry measure that hath been taken, hath been supported out of the funds of the company supplied equally by the proprietors, and half a Million of Dollars, advanced to secure the right of entry and occupancy; we think it a Base attempt, in them to endeavour to benefit themselves to the Injury of the company by availing themselves of the advantage of our advances.—

We are informed, that a Number of the present Agents and Directors, favour this Attempt, therefore we should be cautious, who we trust to represent us, at the proprietors meeting in December next; and that

they be instructed, to dismiss, such persons from Office, who are acting against the interest of the company by favouring this Design.

We propose to write to Eliphelet Dyre Esq^r and Col^l Talmage, of connecticut, Mess^{rs} Mumford and Bowen & M^r Richard Ward New York, Dwight Foster, Esq^r of your State, and to Jabez Bowen Esq^r Providence.—

We wish you to take the sentiments of the proprietors in Boston &c and if agreeable join us in making interest to counteract the designs formed against the Interest of the Company, by writing to the several Gentlemen, aforementioned, or any other proprietors, who you imagine is not concern'd against the company, so the proprietors may have general Notice of this matter as soon as may be.—

With Respect to the locating a Quantity of land to be disposed of at a low Rate or given, to establish Settlers, we are of Oppinion, nothing of that kind ought to take place, untill the company, are clearly and fully Ascertain'd of their right, in the purchase of the Territory described in the Act of Congress of the 23^d of July 1787. For if the contracting agents &c, do effect their purpose of confining the Companys purchase to one Million and a half of acres, we conceive we shall be giving away our land to form Settlements to the great emolument and advantage of their Vile speculation upon the company.

We would further inform you that the proprietors here are detirmined to support their claim by every Legal and Fair Measure.

We are with sentiments of Esteem & Regard

Your most Obedient and
very Humble Servants

P. S. we request an Answer
as soon as Convenient

Peleg Clarke
W^m Vernon
Isaac Senter
Tho^s Rumreill
W^m Littlefield

Coll. John May

XII

CUTLER'S EXPLANATION OF THE DUAL
PURCHASE, NOVEMBER 19, 1788.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

So far as I know this important document has never been printed. Copies of it were sent to the other Directors and to the Agents of the Ohio Company, and probably some of these have been preserved. The document was intended as a defense but its chief value lies in the detailed history of the relation of the Ohio Company to the Scioto Associates and of both with the Treasury Board. The wisdom of the Congressional policy of selling the public domain to the eastern land companies may be a proper subject for discussion; after the reorganization of the national government and a sounder national financial policy had been adopted the land policy of 1787 was not repeated; but there does not seem to be a very solid basis for criticism of Cutler and his associates of the Ohio Company for the bargain which they made.

DOCUMENT

To the Agents of the Ohio Company—
Gentlemen,

As I feel myself extremely injured by y^e false & base insinuations which have been spread abroad respecting y^e purchase of our Lands of Congress, I beg leave to address you on that subject. You, Gentlemen, I conceive, are the only body to whom we are accountable for our conduct. You were pleased to accept & approve, in terms sufficiently strong, y^e report I made to you of y^e purchase for y^e Ohio Company. You have never since manifested to me

any dissatisfaction, nor called on me for any explanation of any part of my conduct, which I presume you would have done, if you were not satisfied. But as representations have been made, very injurious to my character, & low & disingenuous measures have been pursued, respecting y^e matter—much to y^e injury of y^e Company, as well as to myself, I shall, unasked, lay before you a statement of circumstances & facts, & beg you to justify or condemn me to y^e world, as you shall judge my conduct merits.

I shall first give you a short history of our proceedings, & y^e circumstances of y^e Company, stating facts which I can fully prove—& then make some observations on them, & y^e injuries I have suffered.

When I was appointed to go to Congress for y^e purpose of purchasing y^e lands, our Company was in its infancy.—The only persons who had, at that time, taken an active part in forming y^e Company, & procuring subscriptions, were Gen^l. Parsons, Gen^l. Putnam, Gen^l. Tupper, Maj^r Sargent & myself. The whole amount of subscriptions were computed at 250—this, I think, will appear on y^e books in y^e Secretary's Office, in y^e doings of Company at y^e meeting in Boston, March 8—, 1787. More than an 100 of those shares were, if mistake not, on my list.

After I had had many conferences with y^e Committee of Congress on terms of purchase to y^e amount of 1,000,000, Dol^{rs} (for I had, at that time, no tho't of contracting for more) they seemed to insist on 5/ p^r Acre, tho' y^e price was not so decidedly fixed as y^e terms of payment—the terms which they positively fixed were, one half down, y^e other as soon as the exterior line was run. So fixed were y^e terms of payment that I was certain they would not receed from them. To raise 500,000 dol^{rs}. instantly, circumstanced as our Company then was, appeared to me absolutely impracticable—for we had only 250 shares subscribed for—100 of them on my list, of which I could not calculate on more than *ten* that could pay

y^e money instantly, or in 6 or 8 weeks, which was the longest time proposed. No person from the state of Rhodeisland had, at that time, joined our Company, nor did we calculate, while I was at New York, on receiving a farthing from that State. And y^e success of subscriptions in the other States were precarious. I therefore proposed to give up y^e idea of a purchase, & to return home. This determination I mentioned to y^e Comm^{ee} & perticularly to Judge Holton & Mr. Dane—Thus far I acted alone in the business.

At this juncture, proposals were made to Maj^r. Sargent & myself for purchasing another tract of land, adjoining y^e boundaries we proposed for y^e Ohio Company, & an offer was made of 100,000 dol^{rs} to y^e Ohio Company, if wanted, to complete their first payment, which sum was afterwards to be refunded. It appeared to us, likewise, probable that, by connecting y^e two purchases we might extend y^e second payment untill a line was run around y^e whole, which would not only give us longer time to dispose of shares, & collect y^e money, but we should gain a large sum of indents of interest to y^e funds of y^e Ohio Company, on y^e 2^d payment. These appeared to me important advantages to y^e Company, neither could I suppose it would make any difference in y^e view of Congress, whether one, two, or three Companies were concerned in y^e purchase, yet it might make an essential difference to y^e Ohio Company, in particular, if we, at that time, kept y^e separate purchases out of sight; which we did untill we went to N. York, to complete y^e contract—then we informed the Board of Treasury that y^e purchases was made for two Companies, & desired two distinct contracts—to which they consented without making y^e least objection.

As I then viewed the matter, & as I have ever viewed it since, y^e part we proposed to act was fair, just, & honorable, & that y^e interest of y^e Ohio Company would be essentially promoted.

Accordingly, application was again made to y^e Comm^{tee}—they consented to reduce y^e price to 4/ p^r acre—that 500,000 dol^{rs} should be paid down upon closing y^e contract—& y^e remainder on the survey of y^e exterior line of y^e whole tract being completed. These were y^e best terms they would admit—and tho' we did not accede to them, they tho't proper to report them to Congress, & an ordinance passed y^e 23^d of July, authorizing y^e Board of Treasury to contract with *any person or persons*, on those terms. This Resolve was sent to us, enclosed in a letter from y^e Board of Treasury requesting us to inform them whether we were disposed to contract on those terms, or not. After consulting y^e Agent for y^e other Company, we stated to y^e Board, in answer to their letter, the terms, on which we were willing to contract. Our letter was sent by y^e Board to Congress, who approved the terms, excepting that interest should be paid on the instalments, in which the other lands were to be paid for. This letter, as well as the two Resolves, is printed in y^e Journals of Congress. The terms of Contract is stated, in our letter, in y^e following words—
“The mode of payment we propose is, half a million
“of dollars when the contract is completed, a nother
“half million when the tract, as discribed, is surveyed
“by the proper Officer of the United States, & the
“remainder in six equal payments, computed from
“y^e date of the 2^d payment. The land to be assigned
“for y^e establishment of a University to be nearly
“as possible in the center of the first million & an half
“acres we shall pay for—When the second payment is
“made, we shall receive a deed for as great a quantity
“of Land as a million of dollars will pay for, at the
“price agreed on. After which we will agree not to
“receive any further deeds for any of y^e lands pur-
“chased, but at such periods, & on such conditions as
“may be agreed to betwixt y^e Board & y^e purchasers”
Here you will observe the Ohio Company's lands perfectly designated, & unconnected with y^e other

tract for we are to receive a deed for y^e whole of those lands, as soon as the second payment is made.

We then entered into a formal Contract with William Duer & his Associates for y^e lands we had agreed for, over & above y^e Ohio Company's purchase, with this reservation that those persons who had, at that time, taken an active part in forming, & carrying into execution y^e design of y^e Ohio Company, should have y^e liberty, if they pleased, to be concerned with y^e said William Duer & his associates, in a part of those lands, on their giving bonds to pay such proportion of expences & losses as might arise in y^e prosecution of thier plan. And in y^e same contract, y^e said W^m. Duer obligated himself to pay to the Ohio Company one hundred thousand dollars in the following words—"And whereas y^e purchase of y^e above "described lands, depends on y^e punctual payment, "on y^e part of the Ohio Company, of y^e one moiety "of y^e purchase money of the part contracted for in "their behalf, it is hereby agreed that y^e said William "Duer shall (if it be found necessary) advance, on "account of their said contract, 100,000 dol^{rs}, provided "that whatsoever sum, so paid, be reimbursed to y^e "said W^m Duer out of y^e monies, which y^e said Sargent "& Cutler may afterwards receive for subscriptions." This instrument was too lengthy to transcribe y^e whole, & only y^e words I have recited relate to the Ohio Company—It was written in y^e usual legal form, & duly executed in presence of two witnesses, *Richard Platt & Royal Flint*. The instrument itself I can produce, in support of y^e above facts, whenever it may be necessary.

On my return to Boston, a meeting of y^e proprietors of y^e Ohio Company was notified & held—at which, I made a report of y^e purchase for y^e Ohio Company, which was received & fully approved by a vote of y^e Agents. At y^e same meeting, & on y^e report then made, Gen^l. Vernum, in y^e name & on y^e behalf of y^e subscribers in Rhodeisland State, joined our Com-

pany—& gave us encouragement to expect 100,000 dol^{rs} would be collected by them to be paid in our first payment. But notwithstanding that sum & y^e 100,000 dol^{rs} from Col. Duer, it was very doubtful whether we should be able to complete y^e first payment for my subscribers, (who were y^e greatest number obtained then by any one Agent), were, generally, persons who proposed to be settlers, & had little or no money at command, depending on disposing of their property to make payment. The sums collected by other agents were generally small. So great was my anxiety, lest, after all, we should fail of making payment, that a few days before I sat out for N. York, I borrowed money, on my own credit, wherever I could obtained it. I borrowed of M^r. Isaac Story of Marblehead 3021.⁵³/₉₀ dol^{rs} of Maj^r. John Burnham of Ipswich 819.⁵³/₉₀ dol.—of M^r. Proctor of Gloucester 1001 dol.—of M^r. Wadsworth of Danvers 2000 dol I received of M^r. Joseph Barrell of Boston an order on M^r. Dun^r Ingram of Philadelphia for 8904.²⁶/₉₀ — & a promise of M^r. Barrell that he would forward an order, on M^r. Joy of N York, for 70,000 dol^{rs}, if we could not complete y^e payment without it.—For this money I gave my own obligation to replace y^e principle with y^e same interest due thereon—& if y^e identical securities were not returned—indents of interest for one year & 9 months for y^e loan. Of these facts I can produce proper vouchers.

When I arrived at N. York, I found I had not been mistaken in my calculations, for had there not been a much larger subscription in that City, than we had supposed, there would have been a great deficiency above y^e 100,000 dol^{rs} to be paid by Col^l Duer. My money was not paid in, untill nearly all was received from y^e other Agents, as I wished to know whether there would be occasion for y^e securities I had borrowed. The Treasurer made his calculations, & supposed there would be a deficiency after Col^l Duer had completed his payment, but y^e exact

sum could not be ascertained untill he knew how much would be paid by y^e N. York subscribers. Being obliged to leave y^e City, I paid in, of y^e money I borrowed 4000⁷³/₉₀, for y^e loan of which I have since paid 450 dol^{rs} in indents, which I presume I shall lose, as I see no way for it to be refunded. My idea was, at that time, that deficient subscribers, or those that subscribed afterward, should make up any loss sustained by y^e necessity of loans for y^e 1st payment, intended to have laid y^e matter before y^e Agents, but never did. I should, however, consider myself extremely happy, if I should sustain no greater loss & injury than this, in consequence of my being concerned in y^e Ohio Company.—But my design in mentioning the loan of this mony, is to convince you how uncertain our 1st payment was, even after y^e engagment from Col. Duer, & y^e exertions I made to prevent a failure.

Thus y^e matter stood when I left N. York. Nor did I ever ascertain y^e exact sum paid in by Col. Duer, untill my return from Muskingum, but only in general, that he made up y^e deficiency agreeably to contract. By y^e Treasurer's Books it appears that there was a deficiency, after y^e monies were paid in by y^e Agents, & generally by y^e subscribers in New York, of 95,000 dol^{rs}—Of this sum Col. Duer paid upwards of 50,000 dol^{rs}, & engaged Col. Platt to pay ye remainder on his Acc^t. Which sum Col. Platt advanced on Duer's Acc^t, except a small part of it, which he considered as paid on Acc^t of some subscribers for whom he had promised to make payment. The amount of those shares, (as no settlement of this money had been made) he was unable, when I called upon him, to ascertain. But he assured me he would find y^e exact sum paid by & on Acc^t. of Col. Duer, & forward a Certificate to Maj^r. Sargent, which will, I presume, be laid before you with this paper.

From y^e above history, I think you must be convinced, Gentlemen, that we had just reason to conclude, that y^e Ohio Company, small as it then was,

could not collect 500,000 dol^{rs} in 8 weeks— y^e longest term proposed by y^e Board of Treasury for completing y^e Contract, & that we should have been fully justified, if we had, solely on this account, given up y^e idea of a contract—The advantages derived to y^e Ohio Company by connecting y^e two Contracts, are too obvious to need any remarks.—For we, not only, made y^e contract, & obtained better terms, in consequence of this connection, but we were enabled to complete y^e contract, which we could not otherwise have done, without loaning money at y^e expence of y^e Company—We have also a much longer term for making our second payment—& in y^e same proportion increased y^e interest allowed upon it. This must be an addition to our funds of no small consequence. The interest saved can not amount to less than 30,000 dol^{rs}, & will probably amount to double that sum. You likewise must be convinced that it was necessary, or at least prudent, to keep y^e two purchases out of sight, untill we were ready to complete y^e contract; otherwise we might have failed of extending our 2^d payment untill a line was run around y^e whole, & of course y^e interest due thereon. This we much feared & were cautious of speaking of it. But when we were prepared to complete y^e contract, we explained the two purchases to y^e Board of Treasury, with whom two contracts were executed, as perfectly distinct, & independent of each other, as they are of Judge Symme's purchase.

I would, therefore beg to be informed what injury has been done to y^e Ohio Company?—We fulfilled our commission, entirely, with regard to them. Our orders were to purchase only to y^e amount of 1,000,000 dol^{rs}—we had no orders to purchase more, nor could we have been justified if we had done it. We made no application of a farthing of their money to any other purpose. The price was, certainly, as low as it would have been, if we had not connected y^e two purchases. The terms we obtained for our own company were

more advantagious—we are allowed an interest on y^e sum credited—they pay interest. We purchased y^e very land we were ordered to purchase—On what ground then, can we be charged with unfaithfulness & dishonesty in y^e trust y^e Company reposed in us?²—Is not y^e charge base & cruel?

But I must beg leave just to notice a few things which have been said by those who have so ungenerously attacked our characters. It has been said that we were under no necessity of contracting with Col. Duer,—for M^r. Brown of Providence had told me that he would advance any sum we might want—This report is false—At y^e time we engaged to make y^e 2^d purchase I had never seen y^e face of M^r. Brown, nor had I ever heard of his wishing to be concerned in y^e western lands—The first time I ever saw him, was on my way to N. York y^e 2^d time, near 8 weeks after the purchase was made, when I called upon him, & asked him whether he would be willing to advance a sum in securities, if we found that we could not complete y^e 500,000 dollars? His reply as nearly as I can recollect, was, that he would take 5 or 10 shares more.—It must, likewise, be very strange if M^r. Brown had made me this offer, that I should have hired money at my own risk, & on y^e terms I did, to complete y^e first payment.

The first time I ever saw Gen^l. Venum, was at N. York after we had agreed to purchase the Scioto Lands, & just as we were closing our business. He said something to us about being concerned in y^e purchases, but said he did not consider us as formed into a Company, & that there must be a meeting to agree on articles of Association. This led us to conclude that neither he, nor any of y^e Rhodeisland people, would ever join us. But as he connected himself with us after y^e purchase was made, & upon that report, without any intimation of any other Lands, I think he, & y^e Gentlemen he represented, have, of all others, y^e least ground to contend about y^e other Lands.

It has been said the Scioto lands were purchased on y^e credit of y^e Ohio Company—The reverse of this is true—for if money was advanced to y^e Ohio Company, by those purchasers, & could not have completed their contract without it—the Ohio Company is, clearly, indebted to them for their purchase. But admit that y^e Scioto Lands were purchased on better terms by connecting the two purchases—how did this, in y^e smallest degree, injure y^e Ohio Company?—I doubt not Judge Symm's was benefited by our purchase—obtained better terms than he would have done if he had been y^e first contractor—Shall y^e Ohio Company then attempt to take his Lands from him? There is, in reality, no greater connection between the two purchases we made, than there is between his & ours.

But it may be asked why we did not purchase y^e whole for y^e Ohio Company?—Sufficient reason has, I think, already been given. We had no authority to go beyond y^e funds of y^e Company. The Company at that time, had it not in their power to make y^e 1st payment. Besides, y^e intention of y^e Scioto Company was to dispose of a part of their lands in Europe, & to procure a number of inhabitants to settle in the western Country. This, if effected, must be an additional advantage to our Company—they would become a barrier to us—our lands must become more valuable—as y^e value of lands must always depend on y^e number of people on, or near them. This was no small inducement to us to make y^e purchase for them—But if it be still asked, why y^e Ohio Company could not have done this?—I would answer—that y^e idea of purchasing lands for a Company, formed & circumstanced as ours was, to speculate upon, where there must be large expences & hazard of loss, is too ridiculous to be entertained by any man of common sense. Such speculations can not be undertaken unless every individual advances money, or enters into formal obligations to sustain his proportion of expence & loss. Was it possible for

a company formed like ours to do this?—We find it sufficiently difficult to raise y^e funds for our own purchases, & to pay for our own purchase.—And who will advance interest for others, without security from loss? You must likewise be sensible, that those who wish to obtain those lands, do not wish for them for y^e Ohio Company—they know it to be absolutely impossible for y^e Company, as such, to fulfill y^e conditions of the Scioto purchase, y^e amount of which, at y^e price securities have lately arisen, will be nearly a *million* of dollars in *silver*. It may be their intention to form a Company under y^e colour of y^e Ohio Company, but it must be a Company totally distinct from it—differently formed & regulated.—And what advantages could the Ohio Company, as such, expect to derive from the Company those Gentlemen would form, which they may not expect from those who now hold y^e Lands? And was it in their power to take y^e lands from those who have already rendered us essential service, (which certainly it is not) would it not be extremely base & ungenerous?

It has been said some persons became adventurers in y^e Ohio Company, principally, from y^e expectation of making money by those lands.—The brains of some persons might teem, for aught I know, with expectations of possessing y^e whole western territory—& what then?—are we answerable for their visionary imaginations?—We reported only y^e Ohio Lands—those persons who are now spreading jealousies & discord, joined us on that report—& had never an idea suggested to them, from y^e Purchasers, of any right to other lands. If they had given themselves y^e trouble to have enquired of us, they would have been assured that they had not—

Another complaint is, that we acted as agents for y^e Ohio Company, & therefore had no right to purchase for any others, & that, consequently, all y^e lands we purchased must belong to y^e Ohio Company, whether purchased for them or not.—We are able to

prove that Congress refused to know any such Company—or that we should be considered as Agents for it. When this matter was debated in Congress, *Mr. Holten* & *Mr. Dane* insisted that there was such a Company, which had for a considerable time been publicly known by y^e title of *Ohio Company*. *Mr. Holton* called upon me to produce evidence of our being a Company. I put into his hands our articles of Association, which he read in Congress. But it was still objected, that we were a self-created body, & not legally incorporated, & therefore Congress could not know us as such. Accordingly y^e words *Ohio Company*, & our names as agents, were ordered to be erased from y^e report of the Committee. If you attend to y^e Resolve of Congress you will find that it begins thus—"The following report of a Committee *being amended* to read as follows.—That y^e Board of Treasury be authorized & empowered to contract "with any person or persons for a grant of a tract of "Land, bounded, &c"—It was therefore my opinion, & still is, that it would have been right & honorable, & no person could have justly charged us with impropriety of conduct, if, after we had completed our commission for y^e Ohio Company, we had purchased any tract for ourselves, or for any other persons, altho' y^e Ohio Company should derive no advantage from it. Shall our characters, then, be stigmatized, when we consulted & actually obtained, important advantages to y^e Ohio Company by connecting another purchase with theirs?—The Board of Treasury were so opposed to y^e term *Ohio Company*, that it was with difficulty we prevailed with them not to erase it, after it was inserted in y^e instrument of contract.

Permit me now, Gentlemen, to ask, on y^e other hand, whether you would not have blamed us, if we had refused y^e offer of y^e 100,000 dol^{rs} & y^e opportunity for extending y^e 2^d payment, & saving y^e interest upon it?—If we had returned without making y^e purchase, & occasioned y^e expence of sending again

to Congress?—Or would you not have blamed us if we had purchased only y^e Lands for y^e Ohio Company, & refused those advantages? Most certainly you would—I certainly should have tho't myself culpable.

I am sorry, Gentlemen, to have been so lengthy on this subject—but I presume on your candor, when you consider it is not in my power, *personally*, to vindicate my conduct before you.—And, especially, when you consider what must be my feelings, when my character is cruelly attacked in an instance of public trust—in a matter in which I feel conscious to myself of having acted with y^e strictest fidelity, & of essentially promoting y^e interest of y^e Company.—On my return from Muskingum, I found, at N. York, that a certain Gentleman, who had passed thro' that City on his way from Marietta to Rhodeisland had spread a general jealousy among adventurers there, & that my character had suffered much in consequence of it. Fortunately for me, Col. Talmage happened to come to N York soon after, who highly resented y^e injury done to my character—took much pains to set y^e matter right in y^e minds of adventurers. He had heard me explain y^e whole matter to Gen^l. Vernum at Providence, (who at that time appeared to be satisfied) & was convinced of y^e advantages derived to y^e Ohio Company. But still, to satisfy himself of facts, applied to y^e Books in y^e treasurer's Office, where he found a large sum paid to y^e Ohio Company on Acc^t. of Col. Duer, without which y^e Contract could not have been completed. I feel myself much indebted to y^e friendly exertions of Col. Talmage.

The same suggestions were spread in Rhodeisland, & a private Committee has been formed there to correspond with other adventurers—particularly at Boston. Letters have been sent to Col. May, requesting him to engage adventurers in that town to attempt a recovery of those lands. This information I have from Col. May himself.—Such measures before the purchasers were called upon to explain their *conduct*,

I conceive to be extremely base & underhanded—It is generally considered here as very threatening to y^e settlement. Col. May has declared y^e settlement was in harmony untill two certain Gentlemen arrived from Rhodeisland State. Altho' there are many worthy characters gone into y^e Country from that State, Yet such is y^e general prejudice against y^e state of Rhodeisland in this quarter, that many people who intended to become settlers, are so much alarmed with y^e apprehension that y^e same spirit, which has been, publicly, known to prevail in Rhodeisland, will be transplanted & prevail in that country, that they have determined not to remove for y^e present. Their apprehensions are heightened by finding that it is those who sustain high Offices, who have sturred up jealousies & discord at so early a stage of y^e settlement. The Ohio settlement is now become, with us, very unpopular—more than 30 families within y^e compass of my knowledged, who waited only for my return from that Country, are now determined to wait untill y^e settlement is further advanced, that they may know something of y^e society in which they are to make their residence.

I now, submit y^e matter to your decision. If you are satisfied with my conduct in making y^e purchase, I shall expect you will, in justice to my character, declare it to y^e world. You will feel yourselves bound, I doubt not, to repair y^e injury I have received as far as it lies in your power, tho' it is an injury of such a nature as does not admit of full reparation. If you should wish for any further information, in my power to give, or confermation of facts, I must beg you to acquaint me with it.—

I am,

with much esteem,
Gentlemen,

your most obedient,
& humble Serv^t.

Ipswich Nov. 19th, 1788

M Cutler

(Copy)

(endorsement)

Rev^d. Manassa Cutler's
papers respecting the
Purchase of Land,
from Scioto to the
7th Rang of Townships.

XIII.

TWO LETTERS BY MANASSEH CUTLER,
DECEMBER 9 AND 15, 1788.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The first letter accompanied the explanation. Both bear on the criticism which was abroad regarding the Scioto part of the purchase.

DOCUMENT

Ipswich Dec^r. 9th, 1788—

My Dear Sir,

When I saw you last in Boston, you gave me encouragement to expect some acc^t. of what was doing in Rhodeisland State respecting y^e Scioto Lands, but I have not been favoured with a line from you—I feel myself extremely abused & injured—It appeared to me best, on y^e whole, to state y^e matter of y^e purchase to y^e Agents at *Marietta*, which I forwarded by *Mr. Story* who is gone into y^e Country for y^e purpose of preaching to y^e people this winter—I take y^e liberty of enclosing a copy to you. My character, I presume, must have suffered in Boston altho' I have heard little from that town—Should you be convinced that I am undeserving of censure, it will be in your power to do much to set y^e matter right in y^e minds of those who have been dissatisfied—especially adventurers in y^e Company. Attempts to destroy characters, I ever considered as one of the basest of crimes. I view y^e highway robber, or mid-night assassin, far less criminal, than y^e man that would deprive a nother of his character & reputation. The loss of property, or life, with a man of feelings, will bear no proportion to that of character—the one may be regained, & y^e other may be lamented—but a person robbed of his character,

can neither enjoy y^e advantages of property, nor blessings of life—nor will death afford him y^e consolation that his memory will be respected—The injuries done to character & reputation can never be cured. It is to no purpose to say y^e same opportunity is given to vindicate, that there is to defame—for when a persons character is once aspersed, it is always suspected,—& it is impracticable to apply y^e antidote as far as y^e poison is extended. *Downer*, I hear, is returning from y^e westward, who seems to have made it his business to defame me, in all companies, where he has been. He will, no doubt, discharge his artillery, & reck his malevolence on every occasion. He, publicly, declared, at *Muskingum* on his return, I am told, that he would do all in his power to injure our settlement. One *Mr. Witham*, of *Fribourgh*, was a few days since here—he has been with *Downer* on to *Judge Symme's* purchase, in order to look out land for a number of families, who sent him for the purpose into y^e Country. *Witham* gives y^e preference to our settlements, & has engaged six shares of me on his return. He says that *Downer* made a very false representation of *Symm's* purchase, many times, in his hearing—particularly at *Muskingum*. *Witham* gives an high acc^t. of our Lands down y^e Ohio—

By *Witham* I have letters from Gen^l. *Putnam*, as late as y^e 27th of Oct^r—The treaty had not taken place—but there were daly expectations of a number to come in from *Sandusky*.—Uncertain whether *Brant* will come in, or not—The Indians very friendly—& y^e people under no Apprehensions. Gen^l. *Putnam* informs me that y^e report of a very fine salt-spring up the *Muskingum*, is now made a certainty—he intends to visit it, before he returns home.

I have forwarded a statement of my Agency, with my address, to y^e Agents—& would have sent a copy to you had I time to transcribe it—However, I will take it with me when I come to Boston—You will see by it that I have receipts from y^e Treasury, for greater

sums both of silver & securities than I have received—which I wish to satisfy you of—as I suspect it has been suggested that I have appropriated y^e Companies money to my own use. This was intimated to me at N. York as having been said by y^e Rhodeisland Gentleman from Muskingum—& I presume from some things you mentioned to me that you had heard such a report—My character seemes to be attacked from every quarter. But, it is my intention to make a final settlement of all my Ohio business as soon as possible—when I shall be able to prove that so far from gaining by being concerned in y^e Company I shall sustain considerable loss, besides all my labour—

The property of y^e Ohio Company, I conceive, has depreciated, at least, one quarter, for y^e present, in consequence of y^e Conduct of Gen^l. V—n— & Col—C—y—.* Before I went into y^e Country I disposed of a few shares for more than y^e first value—which I mentioned to y^e Agents at Muskingum, & for which I shall render an Acc^t. It appeared to me, when others were selling shares for more than y^e first price, it was not improper for Agents to do y^e same with shares that were relinquished—in this way we might increase y^e funds of y^e Company—Now there appear to be no purchasers at y^e first cost—many wish to give up their shares who have made part payment—I expect to have a considerable number to give up to y^e Agents—

I am,

with respect & esteem,

Sir,

Your very humble Serv^t—

M Cutler.

Col. May—

The information you gave me, respecting Col. C—y I

*General V—n was James Mitchell Varnum of Rhode Island; Col. C—y was Archibald Cray of the same state. Both were Revolutionary officers of distinction and Proprietors in the Ohio Company.

thot proper to mention—I hope it will not be disagreeable to you—
[Address]

Col. John May—
Boston.

Ipswich Dec^r 15th, 1788

Dear Sir

Since I wrote to you by Mr. Eliot, I have been favored with a letter from Col. Platt, enclosing two Certificates of y^e exact sum paid by y^e Scioto Company. You will find enclosed copies of those two Certificates, which can not fail of giving you y^e fullest conviction that y^e Ohio Company could not have completed their payment without loaning money at y^e expence of y^e Company—that of consequence we are beholden to y^e Scioto Company for our purchase. Platt finds the sum greater than he supposed when I was at N. York—at that time, he had not gone over his books with attention, nor had he made any settlement with y^e Associates of y^e Scioto Company. He has sent on similar Certificates to Maj^r Sargent which will be laid before y^e Agents with my paper. Col. Crary is returned to Muskingum—Platt writes—“I am very apprehensive that Varnum & his Rhodeisland Associates will do great injury to our Company, & discourage many valuable settlers from going in to y^e Country”—

You will do me a particular favor if you will inform Col. Jackson of y^e Statement I have made of the purchase, & show him the Certificates—and also any other person concerned, or that may have had any unfavorable impressions made on their minds respecting my character. It is in your power, Sir, to do much to set this matter right, & I flatter myself your regard to justice & y^e interest of y^e Company will induce you to do it. I am, D^r Sir,

Your Sincere Friend
& most humble Serv^t

M Cutler

Col. John May,
(address)

Col. John May
Boston

To be left at Mr. Joseph May's store No. 3. Long
Wharf.

XIV.

DOCUMENT

THE STATEMENT BY RICHARD PLATT,
TREASURER OF THE OHIO COMPANY.

Sources of Rich^d Platts losses which account for the
Differency in the Statement of his affairs

Vizt By the Ohio Company, in this way I assumed to
pay more than

Vizt By the Ohio Company, in this way I assumed to pay more than

| | | |
|-----------------|--|----------------|
| 1 st | 1000,000 Dollars in the year 1787 when Certifycates were at 2/8 O£ of this assumption sum was not paid to me, Sum paid in Land Warrants instead of Certifycates, and sum paid in Money at the time—and rendered at distant Period, thereafter in consequence of which there was a Loss of the diffarence between 2/8 and the high price of certifycates in my oppinnion of | 75,000 Dollars |
| 2 nd | My European Speculations on adventure on adventures of grate Extent and Long Duration, one of which, was for 300,000 Dollars borrowed for 1, 2 & 3 years by three persons eaqually concerned, who lent 10,000 Dollars in Money for Said Term with out Intrust, at Winding up of this thing, last year there was a loss of each man | 25,000 |
| | two other adventures of my own for about 8,000 Dollars, lasted eight months and produced nothing, So that the Two Sums 10,000 Dollars and 16,000 Dollars may be computed as depriving me of | 20,000 |
| | and an Additional loss to me was that as the Certifycates went thro my hands, on there return from Europe. I Sold large Sums at my own hazard. 8/9/ & 10/ O£ in the year 1790 lost by it perhaps | 50,000 |
| 3 ^d | My large Sum of Money lent and paid fer my friend, long Since, much of which is not repaid, and by nearly 40,000 Dol ^s with held by W ^m Duer on a loan made by Cussineaux by means of both which I lost at least | 40,000 |
| | | <u>210,000</u> |

| | | |
|-----------------|--|------------------|
| | Amount brought Over | 210,000 |
| 4 th | Loses on 800 Scrips bought at high prices and long Cr at about 200 Doll ^s average | 100,000 |
| | these Scrips were ment to be Converted into half Shares as I held a large quantity of Stock but as they fell I sold out at about 136 Dollars amt ^s to—108,800
thinking to replace them again at less, but the Markett rose up Suddenly to 200 Dollars again—Lost | 51,200 |
| 5 th | By the Late failures which deprived me of the Use and Command of Upward, of 100,000£ in Cash for a Long time and thereby loosing its obveous Advantages at the present crices, My Debts were Subdivided and far extended—my means ware prompt and at least capable of enhansing my fortune before they ware call ^d for—say— | 25,000 |
| 6 th | By Mess. Leonard Blaker & Banj ^a Luxars Misfortunes, by means of which I am cut Short of a Supposed Sum of 30,000£ being one half conserved in there operations which ware to Terminate, on the first of January Next, say loss of | 50,000 |
| 7 | My verry large deliverey of Stock for Two years past on Contract in a rappidly rising Markett, and Say More than half a Million of Dollars, the Loss on which may be Said to bet ^{tt} and Since my Stoppage I have already lost by the non fulfilment of Contracts & and other means to be Shewn say | 50,000
16,250 |
| | | <hr/> 402,450 |

[endorsement]

Puffing by
Richard Platt
Late Treasurer of
the Ohio Company.

XV.

LIST OF 160 ACRE LOTS IN COL- JOHN MAY'S
AGENCY.drawn March 23rd 1789.

DOCUMENT

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| John Sprague | 868 | Joseph May | 849 |
| Thomas Russell | 820 | James Bowdoin | 867 |
| Do | 814 | John Lucas | 897 |
| James Bowdoin | 894 | Henry R. May | 822 |
| Frederick May | 874 | Sam ^l Perkins | 821 |
| Eben ^r Wales | 866 | Will ^m Hopkens | 889 |
| William Dall | 808 | Elbridge Gary | 816 |
| James Bowdoin | 892 | Will ^m Brick | 878 |
| Robert Williams | 855 | Benj ^m Cobb | 886 |
| John May Jun ^r | 881 | Do | 875 |
| John W. May | 810 | Tho ^s Russell | 846 |
| Russell Sturgus | 812 | James Bowdoin | 851 |
| Will ^m R. May | 852 | Tho ^s Russell | 900 |
| James Bowdoin | 847 | Winthrop Sargent | 263 |
| Tho ^s Blake | 864 | John Waldo | 818 |
| James Patterson | 838 | Henry Bowers | 806 |
| Tho ^s Russell | 845 | Do | 884 |
| Elisha Ticknor | 824 | Nath ^l Ruggles | 877 |
| James Smith | 833 | John May in Sargants Class | |
| Eben ^r Dorr | 896 | No. 247 | |
| James Patterson | 871 | | |

Sir I have looked over the Books untill my Patience was exhausted, in order to make out your 36 Constituants, the last I find in Sargant's Agency, if I am not right you will correct me in your next—I have applied to Sundry Books & cannot give you a better account than the above if that will give you satisfaction, it will add to those Pleasures which have ever added to the felicity of Sir Y^r friend &

humbl Servt. E. Battelle

XVI.

A DEFENSE BY RICHARD PLATT

DOCUMENT

New York May 10th 92—

Dear General

Yestarday Had a meeting of my Crediters while I was present all was peace & Decancy, but afterwards I am told the Devil was to pay about the Ohio Company—that is because I paid them as far as I was able—I knew very well that this would be the case, yet I did not hesitate & hope I never Shall have any hesitation to do what is right—I am sorrey the Directors & Agents did not close with my proposal of paying H M^cCombs & other Notes for Stock, to them in a final adjustment between us—But I know they did not conceive themselves at liberty, being only trustees for the Company—However as little or nothing is now to be expected excepting what may result from other peoples Notes—I wish the Directors will come to some conclusion, as soon as they can with propriety respecting the Balance due them I mean by this, that some authority Should be some where vested, in order to meet a final Issue of my Affairs I have made an offer of all I possess to my Crediters & the Ohio Company. Balance is in the mass of my Debts & must share their fate—Write me my Dear Sir when at leasure & believe me to be Sincerely your Friend

& Serv^tSigned Rich^d Platt

XVII.

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN MAY AND
SARGENT REGARDING MILITARY
WARRANTS.

DOCUMENT

New York May 3rd 1792.

Whereas Winthrop Sargent Esq^r by an Instrument Dated at Providence Seventh of March 1788. and directed to me the Subscriber did grant to Col^o John May of Boston the privilage of Useing his Name in settling with me his Military Bounty Land, he the Said May having taken in More then a seventh part of his Agency in that way.—I Do therefore consent and agree, that in every Dividend of Such of the Ohio Companies stock as shall be at any time made to the proprietors, the Said John May shall have the privilage of Six thousand Acres of Land Warrants (being placed in the Said Sargent Agency;) so far as Respects the Dividend of Said stock, there being one full seventh part of Sargents Agency paid in Land Warrants. Notwithstanding; and the agent, in stateing the several Claims on the stock to be Divided are hereby authorised to Make them Out accordingly—

Rich^d Plattlate Treasr Ohio Comp^y
& acting as Agent for Winthrop Sargent.

XVIII-LVII.
LETTERS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
JOHN MAY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The letters are chiefly the correspondence between May and his representative in Marietta who was William Rufus Putnam, a son of the Director of the Ohio Company, General Rufus Putnam. Letters from Governor Bowdoin, Manasseh Cutler, and others are included. The routine of paying taxes and waiting for the day when the tide of immigration would set toward the Ohio Company lands is the dominant note of these letters. An occasional comment on local politics enlivens the dull business of the correspondence. The letter by John May, October 21, 1808, cursed the embargo in true Federalist style. The collection shows the slow realization of the proprietors from their western investment and the causes as well.

DOCUMENT

XVIII.

Boston April 21, 1789.

Sir

As you are going to Marietta on the Ohio, WE pray the favour, in case you should have a good opportunity, that you would dispose of our several Shares in the Ohio Company's Lands, which you know are nine; and we do hereby authorize & empower you to sell and dispose of them accordingly; provided it be for money, and at a rate not less than what we agreed on, about which you are fully informed.—You will be so good as to present our respectful Compliments to Major Sargent, and let him know our intention to dispose of those Shares; & that we request the favour of his assisting you for that purpose, in any thing in his power; which, from the polite attention he frequently has manifested, we are induced to hope for.

Wishing you Success and prosperity, we are very respectfully Sir

Yr most obed' Serv^{ts}

James Bowdoin

Eliz^a BowdoinJohn May Esq^r

P S.

WE pray the favour you will obtain for the within-mentioned Shares as much as you can, but not dispose of them for less than two hundred & twenty five dollars of Silver per Share nett: the purchaser paying every kind of charge whatever. We have understood, that Shares have been Sold for 400 Such dollars each.

DOCUMENT

XIX.

John May's Return of proprietors in his Agency for
the purpose of Receiving a second Divident on the
surplus funds of the Ohio Company
Those marked thus x are paid

Boston Feb^y 4th 1795

| Names of proprietors | Number
of
Shares | Amount
of
Divident | |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| x James Bowdoine &c | 5 | 130 | |
| x Thomas Russell | 5 | 130 | |
| x John May W. Sergt. | 1 | 26 | |
| x Benjamin Cobb | 2 | 52 | |
| x Wm. Dall | 1 | 26 | |
| x Wm Brick | 1 | 26 | |
| x John Lucas | 1 | 26 | |
| x W ^m Hoskins | 1 | 26 | |
| x Sam ^l G. Perkins | 1 | 26 | |
| x Rob ^t Williams Jun ^r | 1 | 26 | |
| x Russell Sturges | 1 | 26 | |
| x Elbridge Gerry | 1 | 26 | |
| x Henry K. May in Haven | 1 | 26 | |
| x Elisha Ticknor | 1 | 26 | |
| x Fred ^k May E.G. | 1 | | |
| John Sprage | 0 | 00 | |
| x Wm R. May | 1 | 26 | |
| x Eben ^r Dorr | 1 | 26 | |
| x Eben ^r Wales | 1 | 26 | |
| x Thomas Blake | 1 | 26 | |
| x John May & W. M. | 0 | | |
| x James Patterson | 2 | | |
| x James Smith | 1 | | |
| x Jn ^o May | 1 | | |
| x Jn ^o May Jun ^r | 1 | | |
| x Thomas Seward 2 | 2) | 35 shares | |
| x Florence Crowley 1) | 1) | | |
| | 38 Shares | | |

I total at my agency 728
Seward & Crowley 78
806

army warrants

728

army warrants

army warrants

army warrants

army warrants

5 shares

Apr. 18th, 1797

Return of Shares
in Mays Agency
795

2^d Dividend

The Shares which are now the property of John May—

Fred^r May—
& John May W. M } Two Shares
James Smith & James Patterson of Marietta
Owe him. \$1200—

| Amount brought
over | No.
Shares | |
|-------------------------|---------------|--|
| | 32 | |
| Jereh Fogg | 1 | |
| Thomas Odvorn | 1 | I am to pay him |
| Sam ^l Tenney | 1 | Army warrants 7 th part |
| | — | Dollr ^s |
| | 35 | @ 26 Dollars 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Cents is 910—44 cents |

749.60

78.

 1.25

 828.85
Mem^o I did receive, as my first Dividend 2998.392^d Dividend is $\frac{1}{4}$ is — 749.60

ad 6 Shares in Harris &

Sargents Agency

at 26 Doll^s 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Cents

156.8

 905.68

DOCUMENT XX.

Boston May 7th 1796

Dear Sir

When your father was last in this place, I mentioned to him that I wanted an Agent in your Countrey to Attend Carefully to all my affairs in the Ohio Com^y purchase, he recommended you as a Suitable person; and putting special confidence in all that General Rufus says. I have thought fit to make you my attourney for which purpose I have inclosed a full power properly executed, and you, to be so Good as to undertake and Do for me as tho you was transactin business for yourself—

In order that you may have a Clear Idea of my affairs in your Countrey I shall detail to you everything as plain as I Can, &, firstly. I own one Share Drawn in the Name of John May. W M. and one Share drawn in the Name, John May Jun^r or W^m Rufus May. I am not certain which of these Shares was Transferred to Charles Knowls & by him to Skinner, it is probable however your recording Book will tell, I allso Own a house and Gardens on Campus Martious which Col^o Battelle has had the care of. I think your father tould me there was a few Dollars to pay in order to make this Spott of Land mine forever. I thought I gave your father money for this purpose but he says nay. therefor I wish you to make such payment as will secure the Land on which y^e house stand, and the Gardens. I expect Col^o Battell has money of mine in his possession for funds left in his Care and for rent to Said house &c. I wish you to Call on him for Settlement and if he has don me Justice there will be mony enough to answer any expence you may be at. but if you cant obtain any mony from him you will draw a Bill on me, payable at sight for any Little expence you may be at on my acc^t,—you will please to Lett the house fer as much as you can & I think this alone

will be able to defray all the expences—I have two Deeds in my Possession properly executed one for James Patterson *deceased* and one for James Smith, but these not having paid fully for the amount of their shares is the reason why I have not sent them on to Marietta and, they must know this to be the Reason for I wrote them both sum years ago on the subject and sent there account to them or to Col^o Battelle—but Least they may be mislaid I will now give you a Coppy of them Inclosed

these Shairs of Smith & Pattersons you will observe were bought altogether fer bounty lands and it is there misfortune that a Number of them were not good—there Shares being purchased in this way does not intitle them to any of the surplus funds as you may se by examining the accounts of the Ohio Com^y settled at Philadelphia a Coppy of which your father has in keeping. the particular acc^t I refer to is the statement of the agents accounts for the purpose of apportioning the Divident to proprietors, you will there se that I am Agent for 35 Shares, that the amount of paper securities paid by me to the treasurer, was 24700 Dollars

Ditto Land warrants

10300 D^o

35000 }

6184 } so that I

the Directors deducted ^{Doll.} 6184 Land }
warrant as not Claimed in a Dividend }

received a dividend on 28816. and it was never considered or intended that I should pay a Dividend to those who purchaced wholely with Land warrant. those of that Class here are perfectly Sattisfied with receiving a Deed for a full Share of the Companys Land,—however you may til M^r Smith & the Agent of M^r Patterson that they will give you good security for the payment of the ballance of there account. I

will send on there Deeds to you, with sentiments of
Grate esteem, I am Sir your friend and humble servt

J. May

(endorsement)

Coppy of Letter to

W^m Rufus Putnam

May 7, 1796.

DOCUMENT XXI.

Dear Sir

Marietta, Decem^r 29—1796

I receiv'd your letter of May 16th 1796—enclosing your power, and other papers—have delayed answering it because I have not been able to obtain the situation of your affairs in this quarter—

Soon after the receipt of your letter I applied to Col^o Battalle for a settlement, which I have not beem able to effect yet Col^o Battalle has many of those articles on hand which he receipt'd to you for—and wishes to return them I shall wait you instructions on the subject—The rents for the house have mostly expended upon—at that it is in a very decay'd situation—the foundation being entirely rotten—I am of the opinion that it is not worth repairing—my Father has advanced money for the garden—which I have not been abl to get in order to dischare it—

I inform'd M^r Smith as you directed concerning his Share of Land—and Patterson also—since that Smith has brought an action in law against you—a copy of the declaration I now Send you I want your advice and direction on the Subject. I have spoken to an Attorney—a M^r Meigs—who will assist us in the business. In order to support this, money will be wanted; it can't be raised here nor do I know of an opportunity to draw on you you'll be obliged to intrust it by the Mail if you have not a better mode—if you think proper—M^r Smith Contemplates on the residuary funds I immagin—my Father has been twice attacked in this way—one cause was referd the other is now pending before the General Court of the Territory—next March term you'll be called upon to defend—against Smith—before that I shall expect your instructions—My Father presents his respects to you Sir—

Sir I have the Honour to

be your most obed^t Serv^t

W. Rufus Putnam

P S The Laws here prescribe that where cases are similar the trial of one may determine both—Patterson Heirs rest their claim—to the residuary funds—on Smith's Success in order to destroy their claim to more land and money than they have purchased by their powers—it will be necessary to make it appear that those powers you mention were rejected agreeably to your Statement by the best authority you can procure—and the powers returned.
(addressed)

Col^o John May, Boston in the State of
Massachusett

DOCUMENT XXII.

Marietta July 14th 1797.

Dear Sir

Your favour of May 25th came safe to hand as did yours of February 21st with those papers enclosed, and the bank Note of twenty dollars, timely enough for the court—the reason why I did not write was that I wished to wait Smith's movements till after the Court—in such cases the Law requires to advertize in the public prints—which he did not do 'till after March term—At June term it was called and continued—and so it rest now—Your last came to Marietta in my absence up the Muskingum—Surveying—and it has not been in my power to answer it untill now—

With respect to Col^o Battelle, we have adjusted the account, and those Articles which he returned are still at his house, but I shall dispose of them in a short time, to the best advantage—In regard to Smith's law suit the advice of M^r Meigs is, that as Smith has sued for *Residuary Money*, upon the face of your certificates it will be best to show payment by the way of an Acct for the land warrants & your services as Agent—which the practice of our Courts admits of—which we will substantiate in part by the rejected powers in my hands—and Should the Jury find the ballance in your favour you'll recover Damages equal to the ballance with Cost of suit—and thus you will be made good—for your advances on Smith's Acct—it is point undetermined whether the fee of the whole share does not Vest in Smith it being granted to you only in trust to convey to him; but as the title to the land, is not the Object of the present Suit, nor will be affected by it, if you could recover damages equal to your claims against Smith—it will perhaps save a cross action, and a great deal of vexation—I do not know that Smith has really taken possession of any

of the land except the fifth division or 100 acre lot which he now lives upon—Your account must be attested to before a Majistrate who will certify the same—accompanied with a certiificate from the Prothonotary of the County—that he is a Majistrate—and a certificate also from the Governor that he is Prothonotary of the County—this the Practice of our Court requires—the trial will be put off till I hear & am instructed from you—Your Division Deed ought to be recorded here—in order to make good the title—the Sketch enclosed shows the N^{os} drawn to your shares—the large divisions are not yet Survey'd tho they are of a midling quality—as to their value I can't determine money is scarce here people buy very little land unseen—some Shares are worth 1500 Dollars others not more than 7 or 800—from the situation of yours I should suppose them of the middle quality—M^r Meigs advises to a continuance of the suit if possible untill after the trial of two causes of the same nature, which are now in Court—Should they not succeed perhaps Smith May be brought to terms with justice to himself & you—The twenty dollars you sent, with what arises from the sale of your goods & house rent I shall pass to your credit as you directed—you may rest assured, I'll not fail to do the best for you I can—my Father sends his Compliments to you—we shall be happy to see you next Spring or before—

Dear Sir I have the Honor
to be your

Ob^t Servent

W^m Rufus Putnam.

Col John May—

DOCUMENT XXIII.

Marietta August 2nd 1797.

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 3rd of July was handed me by Mr Boothby yesterday in which you mention having written in February & in May—both of which I recd as you are informed before now I trust—by my letter of the fourteenth of July last—sent by the post, in which I represented you affairs in their true light—The advertizement you refer to in your last is the same I mentioned in mine—Smith send out an Original Attachment upon your house & land which the Law requires he should advertize—this is the advertise-ment you heard of—Now Sir if Smith moves against you—the house and land stand charged with the debt—unless otherwise paid—I wish you to understand the business—you'll therefore permit me to explain—the Process in this Country commences, either by a Summons or an attachment upon the Person or Property either Personal or Real now in consequence of your not residing here Smith attached your house &c—which is in no danger of being sold at public Sale untill he gets Judgment against you—which I rather think he'll not obtain. you may therefore rest easy on that Score—for I assure now as I did in my last—I'll not be wanting in your business—to best of my abilities—I wish to hear from you in answer to my letter of July 14—I hope you will not fail to follow the directions therein if you have not receiv'd it let me know soon that I may write again on the subject—

with Esteem I

remain you Obed^t Serv^t

W. Rufus Putnam

Col^o May

DOCUMENT XXIV.

Boston Augst 24th 1797.

Benjamin Talmage Esq:

Sir

If you should be so fortunate as to lay your hand on Richard Platts Property, which I have no doubt you will be able to do, in process of time, I beg you to be so good as to take effectual measures to secure for me the Indent money due from him to me Amounting to \$3399.25 as p^r a settlement of the Ohio Companys accounts made & done with him at N York by the Directors & Agents as will fully appear in the Indent^t Acc^t N^o 6—now in your possession—as it is probable this request is made to you prior to any of the other agents I beg you to give me the preference, and let mine be the first secured, if the generall power I have sined to you will not be sufficient I will give you another full power whenever you shall think it necessary—I am Sir with sentiments of great Esteem
Y^r Most Obed. humble Serv^t

(signed)

John May

DOCUMENT XXV.

To all to whom these Presents shall come Be it Known That I John May of Boston in the State of Massachusetts Agent for certain Associates in the Ohio Company in execution of said trust, in pursuance of the Articles of Association of said Company; and in Consideration of Five Shillings to me paid do hereby grant and Convey to James Smith of the County of Washington in the Norwest Territory one of the said Associates, his Heirs & Assigns forever—the Following Lots of Land viz^t Eight Acres N^o 175 Three Acres N^o 681 One Hundred and sixty Acres N^o 833 One hundred Acres N^o 313 Six hundred and fourty acres N^o 3 of the fourth Town in the twelvth range—Two hundred and Sixty two acres in miles square N^o 9 of the fourth Town in twelvth range as the same are further described in the Books of said Company being one full Share of Land (including House lot N- 78 with the several Lots aforesaid Drawn for said share in the name of the aforesaid James Smith) in Two several tracts of Land granted to Rufus Putnam Manassah Cutler Robert Oliver and Griffin Greene in trust for the Ohio Company of Associates by Two several Letters Patent Executed by the President of the United States under their great seal bearing date the tenth day of May in year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and Ninety two which said two tracts of Land are situated in the County of Washington in the Territory of the United States norwest of the river Ohio and in that part Thereof Purchased by the said Company of Associates one of which Tracts contains besides the several lots & parcels of Land reserved and appropriated for particular purposes—Seven Hundred and Fifty Thousand acres, and the other of said Tracts Contains Two Hundred

and fourteen Thousand Two hundred and eighty five Acres as by reference to said letters patent will more at large appear—

To Have and to hold the said several lots or One Share hereby granted with the appertinances to him the said James Smith his Heirs and assigns forever—

Signed Sealed
And Dld In
Presence of

{ In witness whereof I the said Jn^o May
have set my hand and seal this six-
teenth day of April in the year of our
Lord one Thousand seven hundred
and ninety Eight—

DOCUMENT XXVI.

Boston, Apl 14, 1799.

William R. Putnam Esq^r

Sir, I duly rec^d your Letters of January & February last and note the contents.—I am happy it meets your approbation, my Sending you the power of acting for a number of Gentlemen who have now authorised you to act and do for them—This Instrument I now inclose you it contains 63 Shares—I have enclosed you y^e following papers—Abel Sharons deed from E. Ticknor—Eben Wales deed Sargent to Bolland, Boland to Newman and Newman to Avery Asael Bigelow, S. G. Perkins to John May. a note of hand against Joseph Ransford our £8.2.0. and a Letter for Yourself all of which I hope will arrive safe at Marietta—These deeds are Sent on for the purpose of having them recorded and wish to have them returned as Soon as Convenient I observe by the account you Sent me

Some time Since that you have or ought to have ^{D. c.} 260.78 of my money in your hands, which if there is any of it remains uncollected must be called in, and with it as far as it will go pay the Taxes that are levied and yourself for the trouble—but least there should not be neough (for we cannot tell here how much a Share is Taxed) I have sent you Fifty Dollars in Bank money which I suppose will be more than Sufficient for every purpose but as you purpose coming to New England this Season, we will then Settle all things Should anything prevent your coming this way you will please to write me particularly and inclose me your account that I may Shew it to my constituents

With respect to my house at Campus Martius the affairs with pattersons Heirs and all other matters and things respecting me in your country I leave intirely to your judgment & Discretion to act and do as you

may think best for my Interest—I believe I have already informed you that the Shares which I call mine are drawn in the names of John May John May Jun^r I have now purchased S. G. Perkins Share make me owner of 3 Shares in all—I have in my possession a true copy of the draughts and doings of the agents at Marietta 1st Feby '96 I am directed to have it printed but I find it incompleat—for it does not contain the Range, Township and Mile Square of the following Drafts Viz 8 acre 3 acre, House lot 160 Acres & 100 acres therefore if 'tis possible I wish you to send me the necessary Information that I may compleat the Business—

In addition to the above mentioned papers inclose is a Deed of Mathew Parks which he has sent you, the expence of Recording &c you will please charge to my account &c &c—

Memorandum of Papers Sent by Post to Marietta
Apr 15, 1799.

Viz. A Generall Power of atto^y to W^m R. Putnam
John May to W. R. P. a Letter containing
150\$ an other Letter to W^m R. Putnam

Deeds to Record Abel Shermen
Eben^r Wales
Sam^l G. Perkins
Asahel Bigalow
Leond Boland
Winthrop Sergeant
Henry Newman

a Note on J. P. Ransford 8..2—

Memorandum of John Brown about Waldo

“ Mathew Mark }
“ Eliphalet Thorp }

Boston July 22^d 1799

d^o W^m R. Putnam Esq^r John May Jun^r Deed to
record

John May 1/2 Share
W^m Marshall Jr—

DOCUMENT XXVII.

Marietta Decemb^r 11th 1799

Dear Sir—

I herein enclose to you four deeds—Viz—to John May John May j^r W^m Marshall & Crocker Sampson they all have been recorded and certified—and trust they will all come safe to your hands—the deed to Sampson—I received at Worcester in your letter—the Registered fees are marked upon the deed—76 cents the postage to Worcester 25 cents—all making 101 cents which I shall charge to you—I called upon Col^o Battle and have negotiated the business with him in the way we talked of—when I was with you—the note and interest amounts to 160 dollars—interest to be at six per cent to be paid annually—the whole to be paid within three years from—Decemb^r 9th 1799—I wish you to send the deed for those two shares—belong to Pattersons heirs & the names of the heirs are Elizabeth-Easter, William and Margaret—all children to James Patterson—they say the money shall be paid when the deed is produced hoever I shall hold the deed, 'till the money is paid—when paid I'll pass it to your account—they settle agreeably the stated account I showd you last summer—\$85 & some cents—the proprietors of Wild land living at Providence have put them upon sale—in manner and form like unto your power—and committed them entirely to Benj^a T Gilman—I should be happy to from you and how the business progresses—with respect to the power—in the power for paying taxes—Jesse Daggit signes for one share—Administrator to Estate of Jonathan Williams Now so there are three shares in the name of Jona^a Williams I wish to know which share he still

retains—my father presents his compliments to you
and yours—
be so good Sir as to remember me to M^{rs} May &
Family—I had an agreeable journey—home—found
all well—

I am Sir your most

Obt Servt

W^m Rufus Putnam—

Col May—

DOCUMENT XXVIII.

Col^o John May of Boston to W^m Rufus Putnam of
Marietta Dr.

To the taxes upon the land of
the following persons for 1800

| Proprietors names— | No. of shares | County tax
@
20 cents pr 100
acre | Territorial tax
@ 25 cts per
100 acres | Commission for
you @ 100 ct
per share | Amount in
Dollars & c— | Remarks |
|-------------------------------|---------------|--|--|---|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| David Pierce Jun ^r | 5 | 11.75 | 14.65 | 5.00 | 31.40 | |
| David Pierce Sen | 4 | 9.40 | 11.72 | 4.00 | 25.12 | |
| Asael Bigelow | 1½ | 1.17 | 1.96 | 1.00 | 4.13 | |
| Stephen Cook | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | |
| Samuel Levett | 3 | 7.05 | 8.79 | 3.00 | 18.84 | Paid |
| William Dall | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | |
| John C. Jones | 5 | 11.75 | 14.65 | 5.00 | 31.40 | paid |
| Crocker Sampson | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |
| John Coats | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |
| Nathaniel Dean | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | |
| Ebenezer Wales | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |
| W ^m Pearce | 2 | 4.70 | 5.86 | 2.00 | 12.56 | |
| John May | 2 | 4.70 | 5.86 | 2.00 | 12.56 | paid |
| Do Do | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |
| Russel Sruges | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | |
| Eldrige Gerry | 2 | 4.70 | 5.86 | 2.00 | 12.56 | paid |
| Eben ^r Dorr | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |
| Lydia Haskins | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | |
| Joseph Waldo | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |
| John Stanton | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |
| Caleb Champney | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |
| Mathew Park | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |
| Edward Whitman | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |
| Eleazer Baker | 1½ | 3.52 | 4.40 | 1.50 | 9.42 | paid |
| John Stratton | 1½ | 3.52 | 4.40 | 1.50 | 9.42 | has Stratton 1½
or ½ only |
| Benj. Cobb | 2 | 4.70 | 5.86 | 2.00 | 12.56 | paid |
| John L. Sullivan | 5 | 11.75 | 14.65 | 5.00 | 31.40 | I have put 5
share here paid |
| Leonard N. Borland | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | not paid |
| Moses Everitt | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |
| Elizabeth Bowdoin | 3 | 7.05 | 8.79 | 3.00 | 18.84 | paid |
| Elizabeth Temple | 3 | 7.05 | 8.79 | 3.00 | 18.84 | paid |
| James Bowdoin | 3 | 7.05 | 8.79 | 3.00 | 18.84 | paid |
| Joseph Stephens | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | |
| Abel Sherman | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 | paid |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|------|------|------|------|
| Thos Walcutt | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 |
| Jessie Daggett | 1 | 2.35 | 2.93 | 1.00 | 6.28 |
| W ^m Marshall | 1 | | | | |

Jessey Dagget
signed for one
drawn in the
name of Jon-
Williams — J.
W. has two
shares which is
it—I am to
pay for
See the letter—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| 63½ | \$399.77 |
| to Ballance on Thos Russells shares | 2.94 |

Total \$402.71

Per Contra C' by money expected of James Patterson. 85.05

\$317.66 ballance due—

Marietta March 26th
1800

Errors Except⁴

W^m Rufus Putman

Marietta March 25th 1800—

Dear Sir—

I wrote you last winter, but have not been so happy as to receive an answer yet—the subject of that letter was—that Patersons Heirs were ready to pay the ballance due you and wished you to send on a Deed—the Names of the Heirs are—Elizabeth—Esther Margaret and William If you have not sent it on I wish you would by this opertunity—this letter will be handed to you by my brother Edwin Putnam—The taxes upon land are much larger this year than the last owing to the peculiar situation of our County—between the adoption of laws and the making of them—the laws adopted by the Governour & Judges—applies the money in each County to its own use—the law made by the late Legislature—applies all the money raised upon wild land to the use of the Territory generally—the County tax for 1800 was laid before the law for the Territorial tax was made—therefore—there is this year—a County tax & a territorial tax—the County tax is as last year—the Territorial tax will be it is supposed 25^{cts} upon a hundred acres—you'll recollect that when I was at Boston I mentioned that John L. Sullivan signed the power of attorney for ($\frac{3}{4}$ of five) shares drawn in the name of Tho^s Russell—you Directed me to pay for the five shares althoe you nor

I had not received any more than to pay for $\frac{3}{4}$ of 5 shares—

the tax upon five shares @ 2.35 = \$11.75

D^o $\frac{3}{4}$ of 5 D^o — 8.81

ballance due— 2.94

if you should request it I shall make out a statement of last year taxes with the Vouchers—but as that account was settled last year except the small sum above I shall let it rest unless requested by you or some of the Subscribers I herein enclose to you an account for this year—wish you to pay the money to my brother—whose receipt shall be to you as my own—The Settlements near us increase very slowly—the Military land and the public land to the Westward are settled very fast—there is more land for market than money or purchasers—It would have been well if the proprietors of the Ohio Company had put their land upon sale five years ago—but the longer it is delayed the worse it will be—the plans of the Ohio Company's land are not compleat—owing to urgency of the public survey's—

I am Dear Sir with sentiments of Esteem

Your obt. Hoⁿ Servt.

W^m Rufus Putnam

Col May—please to present my respects to your lady and Family—

DOCUMENT XXIX.

Marietta July 24th 1800

Dear Sir

I received your favour dated May 19th by my Brother with the money &c am sorry to hear of the remissness of the proprietors, it does not affect me any otherwise than—that I wish well to their interest here—and am certain it will suffer if the taxes are not paid in time—the loss will fall entirely upon themselves—however rather than see the sacrifice of property that must unavoidably be made if the land is sold—was I in circumstances equal to it, I would advance the money for the taxes and trust to their paying it but that is not in my power—It is to be hoped that the taxes will not be so large hereafter—We have a young legislature and like other young things—it wants experience—but for our consolation our Country is filling up very fast—the public lands are all for sale at a moderate price—these things all prevent the sale of the Ohio Company's purchase—but add materially to the value of it—you are well acquainted with the situation of our purchase—it has on the S E—the Ohio—which is lined with inhabitants on the Virginia Shore—to the East it has the Seven Ranges which are now for sale and are settling—which connects us—in settlement even with the Eastern States—thoe rather extensive—to the North public & Military land on which there are a number already & daily increasing—to Westward the settlements upon the Scioto—Miami &c—that this is quite an extensive country—of course—the land must very soon rise in value after the other lands are sold & settled—beside such an extent of Country becoming private property liable to taxation the proportion of the expence of the Government will be very small upon 100 acre except

for making roads &c—which by the by will add more to the land than the tax—yes double—

I enclose to you William Marshalls deed which has been recorded the Registers fees are marked on the Deed—58 Cents which I have charged you with—I have also credited you with the 152 Cents mentioned in your last—this has been a very fine season for English grain and grass—our country abounds with produce wheat @ $\frac{3}{6}$ —Rye @ $\frac{2}{6}$ —Indian Corn @ $\frac{1}{6}$ —the merchants in this town are building a small vessel, which it is contemplated to load—with produce for the New Orlean or West India Trade—what should you think of seeing three or four Vessels upon the stocks on the banks of the much famed Muskingum—Should it succeed to our wishes I think the time is not far distant—timber plenty—iron cheap—business in abundance—labour in proportion to Merchantdize—Our Settlements are usually healthy—

I am Sir your most

Ob^t H^{on} Serv^t

W^m Rufus Putnam—

Col^o Jn^o May—

XXX.

Marietta June 12th 1801—

Dear Sir

Your favor of March 30— inclosing a deed to I. Nye &c came safe to Marietta, as did your other of April 29th inclosing M^r Ticknor's deed—which has been recorded, and now I return it the office fees are marked on the back with pensil figures 58 Cents the postage on the letter was 50 Cents—which I shall charge you in account—and also shall credit you 50 dollars for I Nye Deed—I have stated the taxes for the present year—the reason why the taxes are more on one share than another is that each lot is taxed according to the quality—this was the case last year—but supposing that a whole share would be taxed as one tract—I stated to you the taxes—as if all the land had been 3^d rate—by which I lost 15 or 20 dollars—but as the burying has passed by Ill not recall it the taxes for this year become due the first of August—the state of our settlements is very little alterd for two years except the natural increase in population and cultivation which is very great—some have large barns which were well stored with wheat hay &c—Our market is better this spring than usual—Our Merchants—last year built and freighted a vessel of 100 tons from Marietta—and it is expected that in a few days—the keels of two other vessels will be laid—one of 200 Tons the 100—our fields of wheat promise a plentiful harvest—althoe the season has been very wet—Emigrants are few into the Companys purchase—but exceed any thing to be conceivd of, into the Military and public lands—thus encircled with extensive settlements the period is fast approaching when the attention of settlers will fix on our purchase—the land will sell

for a liberal price and the wood top'd hill become a pleasant piloe

I am Sir with
sentiments of the highest respect
Your Ob Servt
W^m Rufus Putnam

Col Jn^o May

Statement of Taxes upon land lying in the County of
of Washington North west Territory, and belonging
to the following persons—for the year 1801—by W^m
Rufus Putnam to Col Jn^o May

| N ^o
Shares | | territorial
Tax | Road
Tax | Commission | Amount |
|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------|----------------------------|
| 3 | John May | \$6.03 | \$3.02 | \$3.00 | \$12.05 |
| 2 | Elbridge Gerry | 4.05 | 2.03 | 2— | 8.08 |
| 1 | Eben' Dorr | 2.01 | 1.01 | 1— | 4.02 |
| 1 | John Stanton | 2.01 | 1.01 | 1— | 4.02 |
| 1 | Matthew Parke | 2.01 | 1.01 | 1— | 4.02 |
| 5 | Thomas Russell | 10.79 | 5.39 | 5— | 21.18 |
| 3 | Elizabeth Bowdoin | 6.55 | 3.28 | 3— | 12.83 |
| 3 | Elizabeth Temple | 6.23 | 3.12 | 3— | 12.35 |
| 3 | James Bowdoin | 6.03 | 3.02 | 3— | 12.05 |
| 1 | Caleb Champney | 2.03 | 1.02 | 1— | 4.05 |
| 1 | Joseph Waldo | 2.01 | 1.01 | 1— | 4.02 |
| 1 | Abel Sherman | 2.21 | 1.11 | 1— | 4.32 |
| 1 | William Marshall | 2.19 | 1.10 | 1— | 4.29 |
| 5 | John C. Jones | 10.08 | 5.04 | 5— | 20.12 |
| 2 | Benj ^m Cobb | 4.04 | 2.02 | 2— | 8.06 |
| 1 | Joseph Stephens | 2.01 | 1.01 | 1— | 4.02 |
| 1 | Eben' Wales | 2.19 | 1.10 | 1— | 4.29 |
| 1½ | Samuel Adams | 2.68 | 1.34 | 1.33 | 5.35 |
| 1 | Hugh Henderson | 2.21 | 1.11 | 1— | 4.32 |
| 1 | John Coats | 2.01 | 1.01 | 1— | 4.02 |
| 1 | William Doll | 2.01 | 1.01 | 1— | 4.02 |
| 1 | Jonathan Williams | 2.01 | 1.01 | 1— | 4.02 |
| 1 | Thomas Walcott | 2.19 | 1.10 | 1— | 4.29 |
| 1 | Russell Sturgis | 2.03 | 1.02 | 1— | 4.05 |
| 1 | Christopher Marshall | 2.21 | 1.11 | 1— | 4.32 |
| 1 | Moses Everitt | 2.01 | 1.01 | 1— | 4.02 |
| 44 | | | | | \$182.18 |
| | | | Deduct..... | 2 | for Jn ^o Coates |
| | | | | | 180.18 |

I charge 1½ Commission on each share
amount to 5.52.

{ Credit by bal-
lance of 30
dollars after
paying tax on
the Military
land &c two
dollars.

Marietta June 12th 1801

W^m Rufus Putnam—

XXXI.

Boston Sep^t 18th 1801—

Dear Sir

Yours of the 12 June came duely to hand the reason of my not answering it sooner was to give time for the proprietors to pay in their Taxes in doing which they have Moved but Slowley. I have however at Length Collected all on the Memorandum you

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------|
| | \$ c |
| sent me—Except B. Cobb 2 Shares | 8. 6 |
| Sam ^l Adams 1½ | 5.35 |
| and Hugh Henderson 1 | 4 32 |
| | <hr/> \$17.73 |

my own 3 Shares which you undoubtedly paid

| | | |
|---|---|---------------|
| Sum time ago—is \$12.5 | } | |
| and 50\$ I. Neys Deed | | 62. 5 |
| which I have charg ^d you 50. | | <hr/> \$79.78 |

This Sum I deduct from the foot of the

| | |
|---|-----------|
| | \$ c |
| memorandum you sent me which is 180.18 and | |
| leaves a ballance of | \$100.40 |
| Mr. Edward Whitman wishes to be considered as | |
| belonging to your Agency and has accordingly | |
| paid me twelve Dollars 86 | <hr/> 100 |

| |
|--------------|
| 12.86 |
| <hr/> 113.26 |

he says that 2\$.8c of this money is Due to D. Woodbridge Esq^r the residue 10.78 is to pay Tax N^o 2 & 3. I call this last Tax N^o 3—in future I wish you to denominate the Tax by the Number. I am not a little surprised that there is no Greater demand for our Land, while they are settleing on both our falanks & in the rear. the time however will soon come when

theire will be a demand for the Land in our purchase, and Other Settlers besides those you make a Nights & on Sundays, which you are pleased to call the natural increase in popilation will come and demand the Shares paying the cash for the Same.

I expected your farmes would yeald abundantly that theire would be a demand for all you raise theire for your Marketts growing better doth not surprise me they will Grow Better every year but it is not best they should rise too rapid while the poor Setters are Comeing out—I have bot the best of Flour in your country for one Crown & 2^d but I suppose it is more there.

(To W^m R. Putnam.
Marietta)

DOCUMENT XXXII.

Marietta July 15th 1802

Dear Sir

The foregoing statement will enable you to collect from the several proprietors the money mentioned, the division mentioned has arisen from this circumstance the law for levying a road tax could not be put into execution I have enclosed you own taxes as others for the sake of regularity in my accounts—I have not been able to get a farthing of Interest money from Battle yet—the mortgage expires next fall—shall I sue it up?—application has been made to me for an 160 acre lot drawn in the name—Perkins now belonging to you—400 dollars has been offered for it 100 in the fall—the other in yearly payments of 100 dollars each with interest—secured upon the land by mortgage—should you feel inclined to sell—and would empower me to do it (or send in a deed—(which by the by you cant do for as there are two appliants—and not yet determined who ought to have the claim of purchas—I cant transmitt a name to you)—you'll have no need of sending money for this year—the general power is so circuitous that I prefer direct ones—with restrictions if you please—(say to notice you of price—and not convey till directions receiv'd—) the offer made you I think generous—our settlement progress modirately—but the County will probable settle eventually—

I formerly paid taxes for the following persons but as I have receiv'd neither mony or directions—presume they are paid some other way—A Biglow—Stephen Cook—Crocker Sampson William Pierce—

I have the honor to be

with much esteem

your obed^t Servt

Col^o May

W^m Rufus Putnam

N° 4

A Statement of taxes for the year 1802 upon the belonging to the Persons hereafter named lying in the County of Washington N W T—with a deduction of the amount of the road tax for y^e year 1801— included in the statement for that year—and paid by the persons to W^m Rufus Putnam and still remains in his hands—as the Road taxes ar not laid—

| Persons Names | | taxes for 1802 | Road tax for 1801 | Amount to be remitted
Including Expenses | |
|---------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------------|---|---------|
| paid | William Doll | 1 Dol 3.36cts. | Dol—1.— | D—2.36 | 2.50 x |
| paid | John C Jones | 5 16.84 | 5.04 | 11.80 | 12.50 x |
| paid | John Coats | 1 3.36 | 1.— | 2.36 | 2.50 x |
| paid | Eben' Wales | 1 3.56 | 1.09 | 2.47 | 2.61 x |
| paid | John May | 3 10.08 | 3.02 | 7.05 | 7.47 x |
| paid | Russell Sturgesl | 3.38 | 1.01 | 2.37 | 2.51 x |
| paid | Elbridge Gerry | 2 6.76 | 2.02 | 4.74 | 5. 2 x |
| paid | Eben' Dorr | 1 3.36 | 1.— | 2.36 | 2.50 x |
| paid | Joseph Waldo | — 3.36 | 1.— | 2.36 | 2.50 x |
| paid | John Stanton | — 3.36 | 1.— | 2.36 | 2.50 x |
| paid | Caleb Champney | 3.38 | 1.01½ | 2.36½ | 2.50 . |
| paid | Math' Parke & Co' | 3.64 | 1.— | 2.64 | 2.70 x |
| paid | Thomas Russell | 5 17.82 | 5.48½ | 12.34½ | 13. 4 x |
| paid | Moses Everitt | 3.36 | 1.— | 2.36 | 2.50 . |
| paid | Elizabeth Bowdoin | 10.68 | 3.37½ | 7.40½ | 7.83 x |
| paid | James Bowdoine | -5 10.28 | 3.01½ | 7.26½ | 7.83 x |
| paid | Elizabeth Temple | 10.10 | 3.11½ | 6.98½ | 7.41 x |
| paid | Abel Sherman | 3.58 | 1.10½ | 2.47½ | 2.62 x |
| paid | Thomas Walcott | 3.56 | 1.09 | 2.47 | 2.61 . |
| paid | Jonathan Williams | 3.36 | 1.— | 2.36 | 2.56 x |
| paid | W ^m Marshal | 3.56 one | 1.04 & half shares | 2.52 | 3.96 x |
| paid | Christ Marshal | 3.56 | 1.10½ | 2.45½ | 2.60 x |
| paid | Joseph Stephens | 3.36 | 1.— | 2.36 | 2.50 x |
| | | \$137.06 | 41.42½ | 95.63½ | 101.09 |
| | | | 95.63½ | | |
| | | | 137.06— | | |

p. Samuel Cobb 27..... 5 x

To Jn° May Esq'

Marietta July 15th 1802

Caleb Strong—one Share W^m Rufus Putnam—
Asahal pomroy one Share

XXXIII.

Boston October 19th 1802

My Dear Friend

as Usual, I have delayed to ansure your Letter of 13 Juley last, incloseing the amount of Tax (No 4) again, to Sundrey proprietors of the Ohio Company therein Mentioned. and my reasons fer so so doing is the Same as last year—which is a careless remission the proprietors have to pay their trifling taxes. when you Send me the List I allways advertise it in the Newes papers that such a tax is levied and that those in your agency may pay the Same to me if they choose to do, and that I will remitt the same to you without delay—yett they pay so little attention to it that I have to Dun them—I have at length Collected all contained in your Schedule accepting Caleb Champney—Moris Everett & Thomas Wolcutt—you may however consider them as paid—as I will take it to mi own account—and in addition to your schedule which

| | | |
|--|---------|----------|
| | \$ | c |
| amounts to | 95.. | 63½ |
| you will please to add Samuel Cobb | } | 2 Shares |
| who is Sole Heir to Benjamin Cobb deceased | | |
| | | 4..72 |
| | <hr/> | |
| | \$100.. | 35½ |

this sum you will please to Charge to my account—and Collect in my out standing Deòts as fast as possable—and retaine the same in your hands, for future purposes—With respect to Coll^o Battells mortgage as the time is about Transpired and there is No prospect of his redeeming it, I wish you to sue it up, and finally Settle that business completly—I do not wish however to distress him by turning him immediately off the Farme but am willing he Should continue on the Same behaveing well, and paying a Moderate Rent—as your Laws are undoubtedly materially different from ours I

shall therefore leave it wholly with you to conduct this business as you may think most for my Intrust and greeable to your Laws.

You mention that application has been made for a 160 acre Lot of mine drawn in the Name of Perkins which is *S. G. Perkins*—the mode of payment &c the price to be given 400\$. I allso leave this to your better Judgment you being on the Spott, and putting Great Confidence in your integrity shall Leave it wholely with you to make the Bargain or not. if you think best Sell him the Lott, let him go on and improve it agreeable to the termes proposed—Draw a Deed agreeable to your Mode send by Post for me to Sign Seal and acknowledge, he shall pay the postage from thence to this place, and I will pay it back *or it is no Sale.*

In consequence of your mentioning that I need not send on the money for this Last tax I have passe to your C^r that amount Vizt. \$100..35½ Cents—Biggelow Cook, Sampson & Pierce have paid no attention to my notifications. therefore we know them not. I have a Greate desire to Se our delightfull Countrey once more but it is hardly probable. meantime I am with sentiments of Great respect your Most Obedient servant. John May

On the 17 Jan^y 1803

I wrote W. R. Putnam desiring him to pay Edward Whitmans Tax N^o 4—and sent it by Maile
I paid the postage—

DOCUMENT XXXIV.

Boston October 26, 1802

Dear Sir

I wrote you a few days Since and informed you of my haveing collected the Tax N° 3 agreeable to your Schedule (date 15 July 1802) excepting Three persons which I Stand accountable for—yesterday I receive a line from his Excellency Caleb Strong, requesting that I would forward to you the amount of the Tax on One share drown in his own name, and half a share in the name of Asahel Pomroy. which agreeable to schedule I make amount to 3\$..54c as the Shares Average. If I am not right you will make it so as this Sum cold not be sent you in paper we having none So Small, I have credited you with that amount. I beg you to have the Tax paid on this Share & half and in future consider him Governor S—on my list. he says he has paid the Taxes up to Last Winter Next Monday is Election for Members of Congress for this Commonwealth there will be a smart struggle between Federal & Anta—but I have no doubt but the Federall Intrust will prevaile I pray God it may thro ought all the States. I am Sir in Greate haste your most obedient servant

John May

Coppey to
To William R. Putnam
N° 4.

DOCUMENT XXXV.

Col. Jn^o May
D^r Sir

Litchfield June 28th 1803.

I have before me your letter of the 20th instant, & am sorry you have so much trouble in the business, especially as the great object is to induce Gentlemen to receive money which is generally pretty acceptable. It would be peculiarly agreeable to me to see you at this place, especially as I can hardly expect that any ordinary occasion will call you into this quarter again. However, to accommodate you on the present occasion, I will endeavour to have the business so arranged that you need not be obliged to come on to this place. I will endeavour to be at Hartford on thursday of next week, say the 7th of July, so that on this following day we may accomplish the business. In this case I will meet you at *Lee's Stage House*. If I should not come on, be good enough to call on Mess^{rs} Tallmadges & Averills, Merch^{ts} at Hartsford, who shall be instructed by me how to proceed in the business. I will also annex the form of a Dft which the other agents will please to execute, & which being presented will authorise the payment of their dividends.—

I wish the whole business of the Agencies in question may be done at the time proposed agreeably to the statement annexed.—

I am Sir

Your most obed^t Serv^t

Benjⁿ Tallmadge

Amo^t of 3^d Dividend due to

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------|------------|--------------|
| M Cutler's | Agency | \$1,334.17 | on 86 Shares |
| Eph ^m Cutler's | do | 217.62 | 13 " |
| Nath ^l Freeman's | do | 151.17 | 9 " |
| Henry Jackson's | do | 245.94 | 13 " |
| Eliph ^o Downer's | do | 331.73 | 18 " |
| Jn ^o May's | | 534.63 | 35 " |
| | | <hr/> | |
| | | \$2,815.26 | 174 |

To Benjamin Tallmadge

Treasurer of the Ohio Company

\$1,334.17

Sir

Please to pay to Col. Jn^o May one thousand three hundred thirty four Dollars & $\frac{17}{100}$ being the amo^t of the third Dividend due to my agency on Eighty Six proprietary Shares, & his rec^t shall be your Discharge from any further Claim or Demand for the same—

Witness my hand at

this Day of July 1803

In presence of

(Copy)

M. Cutler

DOCUMENT XXXVI.

Boston Decem^r 26, 1803

Dear Sir

About four months since I wrote you by maile informing you that many of the proprietors in the Ohio Comp^y haveing seen an abstract of a Letter written at Marietta and published in a Connecticutt paper—respecting a Tax on the Lands—which became due on the first day of Novem^r last if not then paid an Addition of 50 p^r C^t and 10 p^r c^t Intrust must be paid—

I wrote you fulley and pritty Lengthey at that time, the purport of which was to request you to pay the Taxes on all those Shares that had ever ben paid through me and that you woo'd do it previous to the Said first day of November—and make out a Schedule of the Same and inclose it to me at Boston and in case you had not Cash enough of mine in your hands, to Draw on me for the amount at Sight—Whether you have received that Letter I am not able to say—but this I am sorry to Say that through sum misfortune or other I have received no Answer the owners of shares are Grown Uneasey & perhaps sum of them may think I have not don my duty—cleare me my friend from this imputation as soon as possable—and I earnestly request you to settle up those Taxes immediately if not all redey don which I have myself no doubt of —& I beg you to forward me the Schedule so that I may be able to settle with them here—I am mortified and so are all the good Federalist here at the displacement of your Much Honoured Father. I will thank you to make my best regards to him and tel him I am I feel much hurt at his being removed from the office of Surveyor Generall of the U.States

will you be so good as to give me your oppinion
respecting the Louisanna purchase and what effect it
will have on our Lands—Mean while I remain your
friend and humble servant

Jn^o May

W^m R. Putnam Esq^r
Marietta—

DOCUMENT XXXVII.

Marietta August 13th 1804

Dear Sir

Your favor of March 18th has been receiv'd by which it appears that you do not fully understand my account, the amount of which you say is \$461.41½ this is the footing of our account for 1802 & 1803—previous to this time accounts had been rendered on examination you will find a ballance of \$82.77½ charged, that is to be credited in a/c for 1804 acknowledged to be in my hands—Battles note for which (according to your directions) I took a mortgage on his farm—has not been collected, althoe it has been some time in suit, owing to the new organization of the Courts—in my last it was contemplated for the payment of the present years taxes, but the dependence is too uncertain, as in all probability it will not be collected in time, consequently it will be necessary that you collect & transmitt the ballance of the enclosed estimate of taxes by the first of December next

Vz—

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| Estimate am ^t of | \$207.01 |
| Money in my hands | 82.77 |
| Ballance to be remitted | <u>114.24</u> |

as soon as the money shall be collected upon B Note it will be placed to your credit, but untill then I do not hold myself accountable further than as an Agent—The difference of our accounts arises from the different modes adopted by us in them—you seem to have distinguished between agency and other more private matters I have but one acct wherein you are charged with all moneys paid for taxes &c—and credited for

all payments, whether in east at Boston here or elsewhere, old houses money for lands &c—I have omitted the enquiries for Mr Thomas Blake, but will make them & will soon write again—Friends all well—fine Crops but no sale for land—

With sentiments of esteem I am

Dear Sir your
obedient Servt.

W^m Rufus Putnam

Col John May

DOCUMENT XXXVIII.

Boston November 14th 1804

Dear Sir

Yours of the 13th August came to hand in due time Incloseing a Schedule of Taxes on Sundrey Shares of Land in the Ohio Country (say $49\frac{1}{2}$ Shares) for 1804 I have from time to time omitted to Answer that Letter until now—the reason whey is the Same as Usual, The proprietors pay so little attention to paying this Tax that I amwearey of haveing anything to Do with it—theire is however a few particular frinds who are solicitious that I should still continue to take care of theire Taxes through you—whose Names I shall hereafter mention—you will observe by the Statement immediately following—that theire is $6\frac{1}{2}$ Shares Uncollected, and that Israel Evans owes me for the year 1802 & 1803—the year 1804 being returned to you Uncollected, which you will Undoubt- edly proceed against them according to Law—and at the Same time I request you to Levey on his propters for the 24 Dollars & $\frac{80}{100}$ and when recovered pass to C^r my acc^t. Samuel Haven allso Owes me for the Tax for 1803 besides the present year. but he has wrote me a Letter so full of promise that I have considered him as paid but he is a poor D——I. I have felt a Little Antious of Late least this might not Reach you in season alltho I think 17 Days will be time enough. I have drewd up this statement in form of an Account— D^r W^m R. Putnam—Esq^r in Account with John May—C^r.

1804

Nov. 14 To ballance of Old Acc^s..... 82.77To Amount of Taxes that could not
be Collected—

Vizt.

| | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| Moses Everett | 1 share | 3.29 |
| Thomas Wolcutt | 1 D ^o | 3.21 |
| Joseph Stephens | 1 “ | 3.6 |
| Leonard V. Boland | 1 “ | 3.5 |
| Israel Evans | 2 “ | 6.39 |
| Asahel Bigalow | 1½ “ | 1.40 |
| To your Commission | 6½ “ | 6.50 |
| To Ditto Israel Evans Tax | | 109.67 |
| for 1802 paid by me | 7.68 | |
| Ditto 1803 do | 7.12 | |
| To your Commission | 4.— | 24.80 |
| My Own Com ^{ts} & Trouble | 6.— | |

having wrote Sundry times } To Cash inclo. 75.—
paid postage & c &c— }

209.47

209.47

Mr Thomas Blake wishes me to pay his Tax this present year. and so on Untill further directions theire fore you will please to pay that—which will bring me a trifle in your debt—

The names of those persons, who I am still willing to Collect the Taxes for are as follows.

| | Share | | |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----|
| Viz- | William Dall..... 1 | Matthew Park..... 1 | |
| | Jn ^o C. Jones..... 5 | Thomas Russells heires..... 5 | |
| | Jn ^o May..... 3 | James Bowdoine..... 4½ } 9 | |
| | Eben ^o Wales..... 1 | Elizabeth Temple..... 4½ } 9 | |
| | Russell Sturges..... 1 | Abel Sherman..... 1 | |
| | Elbridge Gerrey..... 1 | Jonathan William..... 1 | |
| | S. Pumroy }..... 1 | William Marshall..... 1 | |
| Sold him by | E. Gerrey }..... 1 | Christopher Marshall sold } 1 | |
| | Eben ^o Dorr..... 1 | to S. Pumroy } | |
| | Joseph Waldo..... 1 | Benjamin Cobb heires..... 2 | |
| | Jn ^o Stanton Heires..... 1 | Caleb Strong..... 2 | |
| | Caleb Champney }... 1 | Edward Whitman..... 1 | |
| | his Heires } | John Coats..... 1 | |
| | | | |
| | 17 | | 25 |
| | brought back..... 25 | | |
| | 42 | | |
| | and Thomas Blake.... 1 | | |
| | 43 | | |

43 Shares—

| | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|--|------|--------|
| 1804 | Novem ^r 30 | to State taxes paid in Gallia per your order see N— | 1—\$ | 89.68 |
| | Decem ^r 3 | to Do Washington | Do — | 2 56.— |
| | | To my commission for payment on 49 Shares @ | 6 | 49.— |
| | | To Cash paid Edwin Putnam Act ^s fees..... | 3 | 10.21 |
| | | To my trouble in the business..... | | 5. |

209.89

I have inclosed the Seventy five Dollars as mentioned before and hope they reach you in safety & in good time to answer the purpose designed. I have no time nor much inclination to say anything on Polliticks Only that by the late returns Massachusetts comes out more than half democratticks—alas, alas & a lack, a Day.—

I will thank you to make my best regards, and respect to your aged Father and any inquiring friends, and believe me to be with Great Esteem your most Obedient servant—
[To W^m R. Putnam]

John May

XXXIX.

Marietta August 10th AD 1805.

Dear Sir—

Your favor of November 14th came safe to hand but not untill after the day of payment of the taxes for 1804—Notwithstanding as an execution had been obtain against Battle and was in the hands of the Sheriff who was likewise collector, a negotiation was made & the penalty on the taxes saved—your letter with instructions on what rights to pay was too late I had already then paid according to former instructions the proper vouchers of which I herein transmit—as I never know any of those delinquents you mention in you account, only through you—I have paid only by your order, therefore cannot charge them as they personally have never even asked the payment of tax &c I humbly conceive that you are the only person that can charge them—further suppose I might collect 3 or 4 dollars from a share of land by a foreign attachment—it would cost more than it is worth—

I have therefore thought proper to state an acct without noteing those delinquents, as for them I conceive myself answerable in no degree whatever—

Col^o John MayTo W^m Rufus Putnam D

Per Contra.....C

1804 By balance of acct for 1803.....\$82.77

Decem By cash per post..... 75.—

Decem 20 By Cash of E. Putnam

col^o of E. Battle upon the mort-
gage.....204.25362.02

\$362.02

Note Tho' Blakes taxes omitted in place...\$4.76

Crocker Sampson Do 3.06

Commissions..... 2.

7.82

Ballance due John May \$152.13

to be deducted.....7.82

the real sum due..\$144.31

I have made an estimate for the present year agreeable to the instructions in your last, which will govern me in future untill further instructions—we find that the new system of Government adopted by our state is not quite so cheap as was pretended—the taxes have risen 25 pr Ct yearly since the adoption of our constitution. I say adopted, for we had truly very little to do in the making of it—The State of Ohio—by a forced birth has been so enfebled, that I fear she will never get rid of her “*leading strings*.” There is very little prospect of selling the Com^y land except some particular lots, the United States have very great quantities for sale and upon Credit, with an exemption from taxes for 5 years—these are the happy consequences amongst others of our becoming a state, upon the propositions of Congress—should any application be made for any of your lands I shall give you notice immediately—

Estimate for 1805

| | | taxes | | My Commission | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------|------|---------------|---|----------|
| | | | Com- | | | |
| Charged | x William Dall | 4.30 | \$1— | \$5.30 | 1 | 6.30 |
| | x John C. Jones | 22.00 | 5 | 27. | 5 | 32.0 |
| paid | x John May | 12. | 3 | 15. | 3 | 18.0 |
| | x Eben' Wales | 4.20 | 1 | 5.20 | 1 | 6.20 |
| | x Russell Sturges | 4.20 | 1 | 5.20 | 1 | 6.20 |
| | x Elbridge Gerry | 11 | 2 | 14. | 2 | 15— |
| | x Eben' Dorr | 4.30 | 1 | 5.30 | 1 | 6.30 |
| | x Joseph Waldo | 4.20 | 1 | 5.20 | 1 | 6.20 |
| | x John Stanton | 4.25 | 1 | 5.25 | 1 | 6.25 |
| | x Caleb Champney | 4.40 | 1 | 5.40 | 1 | 6.40 |
| | x Mathew Parke & Co. | 4.25 | 1 | 5.25 | 1 | 6.25 |
| | x Tho' Russell | 22. | 5 | 27. | 5 | 32.— |
| | x Elizabeth Bowdoin | 14. | 3 | 17. | 3 | 20.— |
| | x James Bowdoin | 14. | 3 | 17. | 3 | 20.— |
| | x Elizabeth Temple | 14. | 3 | 17. | 3 | 20.— |
| Charged | x Abel Sherman | 4.20 | 1 | 5.20 | 1 | 6.20 |
| | x Jonathan Williams | 4.60 | 1 | 5.60 | 1 | 6.60 |
| Charged | x W ^m Marshall | 4.40 | 1½ | 5.40 | 1 | 9.30 |
| | x Christopher Marshal | 4.20 | 1 | 5.20 | 1 | 6.20 |
| | x Benj ⁿ Cobb | 9. | 2 | 11 | 2 | 13.— |
| | x Caleb Sturges | 9. | 2 | 11 | 2 | 13.— |
| | x Edward Whitman | 4.20 | 1 | 5.20 | 1 | 6.20 |
| | x John Coats | 4.20 | 1 | 5.20 | 1 | 6.20 |
| | x Samuel Havens | 4.20 | 1 | 5.20 | 1 | 6.20 |
| Charged | x Tho' Blake | 4.20 | 1 | 5.20 | 1 | 6.20 |
| | | 44 | | \$240.30 | | \$283.40 |
| Ballance C ^r | | | | 152.13 | | |
| Sum necessary to pay taxes | | | | \$88.17 | | |

The taxes of the present year fall due December 1st and must be paid otherwise a penalty of 25 pr Ct—
My father thanks you for your kind remembrance and request you accept his sincere regards—

I am Dear Sir Your Obedient Servt

Col John May

W^m Rufus Putnam

| | | |
|---|---|---------|
| Amount of Tax 1805..... | | 240..30 |
| Ballance due Jn ^r May on old account | 144..31 - | |
| Joseph Waldo Not paid | 5..20 - | |
| Seth { | Pumroy for Christ ^r Marshall | 5..20 - |
| | and one Shre E. Gerrey | 7 — - |
| | | |
| <hr/> | | |
| 17..40 | | |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | 78..59 |

DOCUMENT XL.

Boston November 4, 1805—

Dear Sir

Yours of the 10 August came duely to hand with the Schedule for Tax, for the year 1805. & Sundry Receipts &c I should have answered you sooner hadit ben in my power to Collect the Tax but they have been more reluctant in paying this time than usual—you will observe by the above acct Two shares are not paid Vizt. Waldo & Stanton they are both Dead & I cannot find aney Person willing to pay the same theire for you will collect them in your way—in your Schedule you Charge E. Gerry, 2 Shares 11\$—Com-2 carried 14\$ an Error of 1\$ which I have Charge in Acct and inclosed you in Bank Bills 71\$. allso Bill of exchange drawn by Pumroy on Tupper which I take to be correct but should their be any Error I am reddey to rectify. youl please to Observe that Gerrey has Sold one Share Vizt. Fred^k May to S. W. Pumroy so that Pumroy holds 2 & Gerrey only one Share. I find such Reluctanc in the paying this Tax that I decline collecting it again but request you to pay Anualy my Shares & W^m Marshall in which I am interested and I request you to write as often as Convenient & let me know the amount of May & Marshals Tax which Shall be Sent punctually. I Should be Glad you would dispose of My shares when you can have a Good Chance. please to remember me to all friends, and in particular to your aged Father wishing you Health happiness & Prosperity, I remain your friend and

Humble Servant

J. M—

W^m R. Putnam at Marietta

| D' William Rufus Putnam Esq' | | To John May | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1805 | | 1805 | |
| Nov' 4 | To amount of Ballance due Jn' May | 144..31 | |
| | ' Acco' Rendered 10 Aug" 1805 | | Nov' 4 By Amount of |
| | To Joseph Waldo Tax not collected | 5..20 | Taxes Sent me to Collect |
| | To John Stanton Tax not paid | 5..25 | p' your Schedule 240..30 |
| | " Over Charge on E. Gerrey's 2 Shares | | |
| | p' Schedule \$11. comm' 2 | | |
| | carried out 14. | 1— | |
| | To Samuel W. Pumroys Bill of | | |
| | Exchange on Edw' W. Tupper | 13..70 | |
| | his Tax p' Christ' Marshall | 5..20 | |
| | Ditto Fred' May say one of | 6..50 | |
| | E. Gerreys Shares | | |
| | My Commission on | 2. | |
| | | <hr/> | |
| | November 4, 1805 | 13..70 | |
| 44 Shares am' | 240..30 | Cash Sent him mail | 70..84 |
| | | <hr/> | |
| deduct 2 shares | 10..45 | To ballance | 240..30 |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| | 229..85 | | 240..30 |

Boston November 4, 1805
 Errors Excepted & Ballance paid
 sent to Marietta p' Mail this day—J. May a True Coppey of the one

DOCUMENT XLI.

Marietta January 17th 1806—

Dear Sir

Your favor of 1st Novem^r arived in Marietta some time near the last of Decem^r enclosing bank bills—orders &c—your own taxes I had settled on the first of Decemb^r which was the time of payment, and in consequence of the tardiness of your letter in coming there has fallen a penalty of 25pr centum on all the others for whom you pay, the taxes are not yet discharged but in due time they will be attended to, as it relates to your own & W^m Marshalls land I shall pay every attention necessary. Our State in remote parts from us, is filling surprisingly the emigration into it this autumn past has equalled former emigrations into Kentucky which are well known to have exceeded any thing of the kind ever before—but the Companys lands are not much sought after—Will not the day come?

I am Dear Sir
with esteem your obt. St.
W^m Rufus Putnam

Col^o John May—

DOCUMENT XLII.

Marietta August 6th AD 1806—

Dear Sir

As the period to give notice of the taxes for the present year has arrived notwithstanding in your last letter you declined ever collecting &c again, it seems necessary to request your attention this year at least, therefore I presume to address you—the necessity arises particularly from the state of the taxes for the last year—the estimate which I transmitted last August, was but an estimate, I now transmit a schedule of the payments, with the proper vouchers (except in a few instances, in those duplicate receipts were not taken through omission) from this there appears to be a balance due me from the persons composing the agency—as the money paid upon the Estimate was received by you and the quantity known to you only—it appears to me that no person can so well settle it as yourself—I have been very particular in drawing out schedule that it may appear where the money was paid & why—you will perceive by the receipt that a penalty of 25 pr Ct pd on all or most of your properties the reason is, the money with your instructions did not arrive in time Viz by the first of December your own tax & two or three others the proprietors cannot complain as it was in consequences . . . tardiness—as this balance will come through you have thought proper to add an estimate for the present year, which I believe is so near correct, that hereafter we can close the agency with ease. I have even considered myself as your agent, rather than yourself as mine therefore the notice may with propriety be given them, (that is the proprietors that they must adopt some other mode of transmitting money—The taxes for the present year become due Decem^r 1st and if not paid, sales immediately take place—

Accept Dear Sir my sincere regards for yourself & wellfare—althoe at a distance and in a complete Democratic State yet we here rejoice at the late success in the choice of Governor Strong I assure you—

I have the honor

to be Dear Sir

your obedient Hbl Servt.

W^m Rufus Putnam

Col Jn^o May—

Mr Pomeroy's Bill I return that he may get it again, I can accept no bill on Mr. Tupper—he would not pay it pretends to own the land but as the taxes were not paid I feared Mr P. might suffer I therefore paid them—

A schedule of the taxes paid by Wm Rufus Putnam on the lands of the following persons lying in Washington & Gallia Counties State of Ohio—for the year 1805 by directions from Col John May—

| Proprietors Names | Num.
of rights
equal to Dollars | Tax paid in
Washington
Coy | Voucher | Tax paid in
Gallia County | Voucher No | Comis | Amount charge-
able upon each
proprietor | Forfeits |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------|------------------------------|------------|--------------|--|----------|
| x John May | 3 | Dollars 5.06 | 1 | Dollars 8.41½ | — | 3 | \$16.47 | 1.47 |
| x Edward Whitmans | 1 | “ .04 | 2 | “ 4.65 | — | 1 | 5.69 | 1.76 |
| x John Coats | 1 | “ 4.96 | 2 | “ — | — | 1 | 5.96 | 2.83 |
| x William Dall | 1 | “ 5.39 | 3 | “ 1.14 | 4 & 5 | 1 | 7.63 | 2 — |
| x Ebenezer Wales | 1 | “ 5.39 | “ | “ .81 | “ | 1 | 7.20 | 7.44 |
| x John C. Jones | 5 | “ 5.55 | “ | “ 25.89 | “ | 5 | 34.44 | 1.68 |
| x Russell Sturges | 1 | “ 5.38 | “ | “ .50 | “ | 1 | 6.88 | 1.68 |
| Elbridge Gerry | 2 | “ 6.40 | “ | “ 4.63 | “ | 2 | 12.03 | 3.26 |
| Ebenezer Dorr | 1 | “ 4.57 | “ | “ 2.99 | 4 & 5 | 1 | 8.56 | 1.77 |
| Caleb Champney | 1 | “ .86 | “ | “ 5.31 | — | 1 | 7.17 | 1.15 |
| Mathew Park & C- | 1 | “ 5.40 | “ | “ — | — | 1 | 6.40 | 7.41 |
| Thomas Russell | 5 | “ 4.36 | “ | “ 25.05 | 4 | 5 | 34.41 | 4.53 |
| Elizabeth Bowdoin | 3 | “ 14.54 | “ | “ 4.04 | “ | 3 | 21.58 | 4.74 |
| James Bowdoin | 3 | “ .93 | “ | “ 17.81 | “ | 3 | 20.70 | 3.70 |
| Elizabeth Temple | 3 | “ 6.38 | “ | “ 11.32 | “ | 3 | 20.70 | 1.11 |
| Abel Sherman | 1 | “ 5.41 | “ | “ — | “ | 1 | 6.41 | 1.93 |
| Jonathan Williams | 1 | “ 2.02 | “ | “ 4.51 | “ | 1 | 7.53 | 1.84 |
| William Marshall | 1 | “ .92½ | “ | “ 5.32 | “ | 1 | 7.24 | 3.56 |
| Benjamin Cobb | 2 | “ 9.94 | “ | “ 2.60 | “ | 2 | 14.56 | 2.76 |
| Caleb Strong | 2 | “ 2.74 | “ | “ 9.02 | “ | 2 | 13.76 | 1.56 |
| Samuel Havens | 1 | “ .88 | “ | “ 3.33 | “ | 1 | 5.21 | 1.11 |
| Joseph Stephens | 1 | “ .88 | “ | “ 5.01 | “ | 1 | 6.89 | 1.11 |
| Christopher Marshal | 1 | — | — | “ 5.10 | “ | 1 | 6.10 | 1.11 |
| Thomas Blake | 1 | — | — | “ 5.31 | “ | 1 | 6.31 | 1.11 |
| | 43 | 94.10 | — | 152.78 | — | Total Amount | 290.47 | |

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Estimate for 1806

| | | | |
|------------------------|---------|---------------------------|---------|
| John May..... | \$16.47 | Abel Sherman..... | \$ 5.33 |
| x Edward Whitman..... | | Jonathan Williams..... | 6.23 |
| John Coats..... | 5.96 | William Marshall..... | 5.43 |
| William Doll..... | 5.71 | Christopher Marshall..... | 5.08 |
| John C. Jones..... | 28.55 | Benjm Cobb..... | 12.03 |
| Eben' Wales..... | 5.96 | Caleb Strong..... | 11.40 |
| Russell Sturges..... | 5.69 | x Samuel Havens..... | 5.30 |
| Elbridge Gerry..... | 10.05 | x Joseph Stephens..... | 5.70 |
| Eben' Dorr..... | 5.70 | x Thomas Blake..... | 5.70 |
| Caleb Champney..... | 5.93 | | |
| Mathew Parke..... | 5.32 | | |
| Thomas Russell..... | 28.53 | | 62.20 |
| Elizabeth Bowdoin..... | 17.86 | | |
| James Bowdoin..... | 17.98 | Whole amot Tax for..... | 192.56 |
| Elizabeth Temple..... | 17.16 | | |
| | | 1806 is 254.76— | |
| | | | 254.76 |
| | 192.56 | | |

| Col John May | Dr. | Per Contra | Cr. |
|---|------------------|---|----------------|
| 1806 | | | |
| August 6 to the amount of
the taxes paid by his direc-
tion for the year 1805 | | By the ballance of acct for
1803..... | \$144.31 |
| See Schedule on the other
side..... | \$290.47½ | By Cash received per mail
in Decem' last..... | 71.— |
| | | August 6 th By balance debt
in new account..... | 75.16½ |
| | <u>\$290.47½</u> | | <u>290.47½</u> |

Errors Excepted.
Marietta August 6
AD 1806

W^m Rufus Putnam

DOCUMENT XLIII.

Boston Oct 18, 1806

Dear Sir

Yours of the 6 August I Received in due time, since which I have ben indeavouring to Collect in the Taxes according to your Schedule. Sum I cannot find and Sum few promise but do not pay. I accordingly return them delinquents—as followes—

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Joseph Stephens not be found
he was not on the Schedule last year &
Consequently you Ought not Charge him to
me in your a/c | 5..70 |
| Samuel Pumroy Owns one of E. Gorrey Shares
and Christopher Marshals Share,—he says
Tupper must pay for them & he will not
pay me | 6..89 |
| | 10..13 |
| Marshal 5..8 Gerney 5..5 | |
| Now paid Elbridge Gerrey One Share Unpaid | |
| Caleb Champney Not paid | 5..93 |
| Edward Whitman Sent his Mony on July last
as he says, so he wont pay | 5..69 |
| Now paid Samuel Haven has paid | ..00 |
| Thomas Blak wont pay | 5..70 |
| | <hr/> 45..04 |

List of those who have paid

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|---------------|
| John May | 16..47 | Am ^t brt. up | 201.81 |
| John Coats | 5..96 | Sam ^t Haven p ^d | 5.30 |
| W ^m Dall | 5..71 | | <hr/> 207..11 |
| Jn ^o C. Jones | 28..55 | Ballance of a/c | |
| Eben ^t Wales | 5..96 | for 1805 | 75..16 |
| Russel Sturgis | 5..69 | Deduct Jo ^t | |
| Eben ^t Dorr | 5..70 | Stepens, not on | |
| Matthew Park | 5..32 | the schedule for | |
| Tho ^t Russell | 28..53 | for 1805 | 6..89 68..27 |
| Elisa ^t Bowdoine | 17..86 | | <hr/> 275..38 |
| James Bowdoine | 17..98 | | |
| Elisabeth Temple | 17..16 | | |
| Abel Sharman | 5..33 | | |
| Jon ^t Williams | 6..23 | | |
| W ^m Marshall | 5..93 | | |
| Sam ^t Cobb | 12..03 | | |
| Caleb Strong | 11..40 | | |
| | <hr/> the ballance of 1805) | | 201..81 |

Sent to Marietta Oct 18..1806. Oc^t
25. Sent another Letter to W^m R.
Putnam inclosing a Bill of Six Dollars
to pay Tax for One Share for Elbridge
Gerrey—

DOCUMENT XLIV.

Boston October 26, 1806.

Dear Sir

I Wrote you p^r Mail on 18th instant Inclosing Two hundred & Seventy Six Dollars with the names of those proprietors who had paid and those which had not. this day Elbridge Gerrey Esq^r Call'd on me and was disappointed that I had not sent his Tax with the others and requested me to forward it to you I theirfore now inclose you a Bank bill for Six Dollars his Tax on One Share (the other being Sold to Pumroy.) is about 5\$.5c the surplus will serve to pay Postage &c— I hope this withe the preceding one will Reach you in safety wishing you health presperity & a Good Government I remain

Your sincere friend & humbl

Serv^tTo W^m R. Putnam

John May.

DOCUMENT XLV.

Marietta August 22 AD1807—

Dear Sir

I here enclose a duplicate voucher of the payment of taxes of the persons therein named for the year 1806—it appears necessary that you should hold such a one—for their satisfaction should they enquire, and further, as those persons are known to me only through you—I know not where to address to them and it seems necessary that they should be put in mind of the present years taxes, which are the same they were last and become due on the first day of Decem^r next—I would therefore suggest the propriety of your first notifying them in the newspapers even if it is at my expence—there are *two or three names* in this duplicate which were not in your memorandum. these were placed here through mistake you'll therefore take no notice of them—Vz—Stephen Cooke John Stanton & Moses Everett as I have paid their taxes I would thank you to write me where they can be found—Vz—Cook & Stanton Everett correspond with me—It would be very agreeable to me never to know those proprietors only through you as the business can be done better in this way we have practised than to communicate with each individuals—but this must be as you please—so it must—A Certain Mr. Daniel W. Griffith wishes to purchase W^m Dalls one hundred and sixty acre lot proposes to give two dollars per acre, and request a credit of three years—the lot is numbered 808 lays about 14 miles from Marietta upon the South branch of Wolf Creek the quality is unknown to me—

Our town is improving pretty fast for a new world and should all those towns on the Atlantic coast be

put under contribution by some foreign power—
Marietta will go clear. There seems to be a fair
opportunity of trying the efficacy of a Gun boat
ad[ministrati]on.

wishing health and happiness to you and yours

I remain your obedient Serv^t

W^m Rufus Putnam.

DOCUMENT XLVI.

Boston Oct^r 14, 1807

Dear Sir

Yours of the 22^d August I duely received inclosing The Voucher for Taxes paid in the year 1806. Agreeable to your sugetion I put a Short advertisement in the Centinall for Three suckessive weeks, informing the whole world that the Taxes were the same this year as the Last & that they must be paid in, on or before the first day of Decem^r Nex—I have waited until now to give an Opertunity for those who chose it, to put theire money into this Letter, you will Se by the names how few have taken this oppertunity Viz”

| | Shares | Cash Sent |
|---------------------------------|----------|-------------|
| John May of Boston..... | 3 | 17. |
| Elisabeth Bowdoine..... | 3 | 17.15 |
| James Bowdoine..... | 3 | 17.15 |
| Elisabeth Temple..... | 3 | 17.38 |
| E. Wales mony is sent on..... | | |
| W ^m Marshall..... | 1 | 5.69 |
| to make even Say postage &c.... | | .63 |
| | <hr/> 13 | <hr/> 75.00 |

I observe that the avaridge
 on each was about 4.70 4.70
 I allow 1\$ on each 1.—
 or your commission

5.70

I now enclose you the above Sum of Seventy five Dollars which I have no doubt will reach you safely in due time, & request you to let me know by Letter immediately on the receipt thereof—I did not hear of the arivall of My Last until I received your last—I shewed M^r Dall your paragraft respecting. Griffith & Dall says he has wrote you on the subject I shall now give you the names and Places of Abode of those proprietors mentioned on your Schedule—viz

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Stephen Cook of Andover | Samuel Cobb | Boston | Cobb Strong | Northampton |
| Wm Dall | Boston | Tho' Russel | Sam'l Haven | Dedham |
| Jn' C. Jones | D' | is John L. Sullivan | D' | Eben' Wales |
| Jn' Coates | D' | E. Bowdoine | D' | John May |
| Eben' Doer | D' | Jona William is | Russel Sturgis | D' |
| Elbridge Gerrey | Cambridge | Doct' Chever - | Boston | E. Temple |
| Matthew Park | Boston | W ^m Marshall | Brookline | James Bowdoine |
| | | Abel Sherman | Newton | D' |

I wish you to sell if you can at a fair price my Share which Stands on your Book drawn in the Name of John May. W. Marshal the 8 acre lot is N^o 435 & house Lots 439—this we are desirous of Sellin—Indeed I should be glad to have my other Two Shares Sold if you can procure a tollarable price & Good pay for them—I will thank you to Write me on this Subject. I am Sir your Most Obedin Servt.

J. May

To W^m R. Putnam

DOCUMENT XLVII.

Marietta May 7th 1808

Dear Sir

Your favor of Feb^y 26th was duly receiv'd one Copy seven dollars which I placed to the C^r of E Dorr—Decon Nye has proposed to pay for the redemption of D^r land therefore this sum will be applied to the present year's taxes—yours enclosing money for taxes last year was receiv'd with the money I have wated answering that I might state this years taxes which are the same they were last; the duplicate receipts for last year have not been obtained but you may expect to recive them ere long—the sale of the share of land you mention I have not been able to effect, indeed I think it likely that it cannot be sold here on account of the scarcity of money & the stopage of business—but I will use every endeavour to dispose of it in the way that will answer—

I remain Dear Sir your ob^tHumble Serv^tW^m Rufus PutnamCol^l Jn^o May—

DOCUMENT XLVIII.

Marietta Sep^r 22—AD 1808—

Dear Sir

I receivd yours of Oct^r last enclosing in all the sum of eighty dollars, which was applied in the payment of the taxes of the persons therein named as you directed I opened an account with each one, therefore shall trouble you as corresponding agent no more unless you shall please to accommodate some of them—M^r Dorr's money was receivd and accepted for the relinquishment of his land—enclosed I send it please to give it him—Our wise State Legislature foreseeing that there would be a total stagnation of business, and that consequently people would be at leizure to pay (forgeting that money might be wanting) have increased the state taxes very considerably—say from \$471 to \$6.80 on a share—from this, the taxes & commissions on a share will am^t to \$7.80 or thereabouts—and must be paid Decem^r 1st next—bills of the US Marietta or those of some southern State will only be ecepted by the collector—You mention the selling of part of your land—why it cannot be sold here at all; land at this time is of no value. I had like to have forgotten to mention that I hardly recovered from a very sore sickness which has prevented my writing sooner and now prevents my sending the duplicate receipts—

Yours respectfully

W^m Rufus PutnamCol^o May—

My aged father is well and tenders his respects—
Dear Sir,

please to give the Bowdoin Family notice of there taxes I dont whom to address

DOCUMENT XLIX.

Boston October 21, 1808—

Dear Sir

I received yours of the 22^d September in due time. I mentioned the present years taxes to a few friends who have requested me to forward on their Taxes to you in closed in My Letter—Viz.

| | | |
|--|------------|--------------|
| Jn ^o May | 3 Shares — | 7.20 \$21.60 |
| Elisabeth Bowdoine | 3 Ditto | 21.60 |
| James Bowdoine | 3 Ditto | 21.60 |
| Elisabeth Temple | 3 Ditto | 21.60 |
| W ^m Marshall | 1 Ditto | 7.20 |
| Egen ^r Wales | 1 Ditto | 7.20 |
| John Stanton, heirs | 1 Ditto | 7.20 |
| W ^m Wiswald for C. Champney | 1 Ditto | 7.20 |
| <hr/> | | |
| 16 Shares | | \$115.20 |

which sum of one hundred & fifteen dollars & $20\frac{1}{100}$ I now inclose you in bills and make no doubt it will reach you in safety and in good time I wish you to inform me immediately on the receipt of it—M^r W^m Wiswald says he Sent you last year Six Dollars to pay Tax on C. Champney Share he wishes you would write him about it.

I have paid the Taxes on W^m Marshal, one Share and the half Share drawn in the Name Jn^o May & W.M—ever since the first Taxes commenced & he has Never paid Me One farthing Nor can I git him to attend to it altho I have seen him & have wrote him frequently, the amount he Owes Me is includeing this present year is \$62.75 cents and I have no Notion of having it lay any longer.—I therefore request you to attach in my name the one Undivided half Share o Land which may belong to the Said W^m Marshal being drawn in the name of Jn^o May & W^m Marshall

and is N^o 435 of the 8 Acre Lot, what I mean is for you to attach all his right to the above share and have it sold and if it Should Go Very Low buy it on My Account—for all these extra troubles I am allways willing to pay you—as you & I have never wrote on polliticks I think it not worth while to begin now. I shall Only say we have ben dreadfully cramped for allmost a year by the Cursed imbargo—and we do no se any prospect of its removal at present—they threaten us from head Quarters that if they raise the imbargo, we must go to war with England—Spain is at work Gloriously. God be with hir—Never forget to make my best regards to your Venerable Father—and believe me to be your Most

Obedient Servant

J. May
1808

Endorsed
Coppey of Letter to
W^m R. Putnam
Oct. 25, 1808

Wrote him in December
Wrote him a duplicate with additions
March 25 1809.

Write him Lengthey July 25 1809

DOCUMENT L.

Marietta August 1st 1809—Col^o May

Dear Sir—

At length I have commenced writing to you—which I ought to have done some time ago—but have been prevented by one circumstance & an other—your favor of Oct last inclosing money for taxes was receiv'd and the money you'll find in following accounts yours of March last was likewise receiv'd what you state relative to W^m Marchalls land will be attend to, I have waited untill this time as our Court sits within about a fortnight at which term the suit will be brought—James Smith with whom we have had difficulty heretofore has made a demand of the balance or last payments of the residuary funds—which he says you have receiv'd from Col^o Talmage since the settlement of the former suit upon his share—and he says that unless you pay them over to him, he will commence an action—wish to write on this subject immediately—Inclosed you will receive the vouchers of the pay of taxes for 1807 and 1808—of those persons you directed—except for Caleb Champneys heirs . . . them I write W^m Wisward and enclose the vouchers—but here acknowledged to have receiv'd \$7.20 of you for them—

that each person may the particular situation of his acct I draw these separately the vouchers may with the acc^t be delivered then.

John May D^r

1807

Decem^r to pay of state tax...\$13.72
 to commissions..... 3.00
 1808 to postage Feb. 26th..... .25
 Nov. to postage..... .75
 Decem to payment of taxes
 &c..... 17.08^s
 to commissions..... 3.—
 1809 to balance C^r new acct.. .79

58.60

Closed to August 1—1809

Per Conta C^r

1807

Cash enclosed under Date
 oct. 14th.....\$17.00
 1808
 Cash enclosed under Date
 Oct 25..... 21.60

\$38.60

W^m Rufus Putnam

James Bowdoin and others Dr.

1807

Dec. to pay^r of State taxes see
 V.....\$42.69^s
 to Com on 9 shares..... 9.—

1808

Dec. to pay of State taxes... 53.21^s
 to Comm^r..... 9.—

113 91^sbalance C^r in new acct.... 2 57

116.48

Acct Closed to August 1—1809

Per Contra C^r

1807

By cash by Col^o May Oct
 14th.....\$51.68

1808

By Cash by Col^o May Oct
 25..... 64.80

\$116.48

W^m Rufus Putnam

I requested By a M^r Jeremiah Dare of this town to apply for the purchase of your eight acre lot lying in the Township of Marietta about two miles from Town N^o 192—Drawn in the name of Samuel G Perkins—M^r D offers one hundred dollars for it one half down thereon some little C^r he is a responsible man and I think it is as much as the lot is worth should you send a deed you may fifty dollars of the money for the payment of the taxes for the present year—

I remain with great respect your obedient
 Sir

W^m Rufus Putnam

DOCUMENT LI.

Boston 23^d October 1809—

Dear Sir

I was from home when yours of August 1 came to Boston consequently did not receive it until sum time after—I am happy you have commenced writing again I own that I felt a little uneasy at not hearing from you for almost a year. have wrote you three times I was fearful my Letter with money had miscarried I wish you allways on the receipt of my Letters just to Drop a line informing me of it & any other matters you may think worth while—

I have waited until this time in Order to collect the Taxes of those proprietors who wished to send by this conveyance they are allways tardey—

I have Examined the Accounts you Sent me & find them correct. I have sent on with the rest, Will^m Marshal Tax, alltho he has not paid me one Cent since the taxes commenced. if it is admissable you will please to add the sum of Twelve Dollars to the Account which I Sent you against him this 12 dollars is for Tax on $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares for this year your Comm' Mine &c—

| | |
|---|-------|
| I now Inclose you a deed to Jeremiah Dare for which he is to advance you cash and will give you Satisfactory security for the Rest..... | 50.00 |
| the ballances due may Bowdins & Marshall deducting 35 Cents Wales owed you..... | 3.34 |
| the remainder I inclose you in cahs..... | 49.66 |

| | |
|---|--------|
| Stanton has enough with you..... | 103.00 |
| I Raise for Secy Jn ^o May 3 Shares — 5.86 — | |
| Bowdone Temple & Bowdin.. 9 — — | |
| Marshall..... 1 — is 87.90 | |
| Wales..... 1 your commiss 15, | |
| Wiswald..... 1 — | |

| | |
|-----------|--------|
| 15 shares | 102.90 |
|-----------|--------|

I hope that this will reach you in Safety & in good time

I am satisfied James Smiths demands are unjust, he is not intitled to any dividend on the surplus funds as he paid me for his share all together in army warrants, & for such shares I received No dividend at the Settlement at Philadelphia—

your honor— father was there present, & president of the board of directors. he Undoubtedly will remember if not his Books and Papers will show that I represented 35 shares & demanded a dividend on them but they allowed me on 28 only, Saying that those Shares paid for in Army Warrents drew there full Share of Land but ware not intitled to surplus money consequently they allowed me none on 7 Shares of which James Smith was one—I am however willing to leave it to your father to say what is right—if Smith has commenced an action, or insits on doing it. I leave it with you to manage the matter according to your best Judgement—imploy council if you think proper. I shall add that I did not receive any surplus Money for him and am loth to pay him what I did not receive—as the Share of mine drawn in the name S. G. Perkins is now twice broke in upon I wish you to sell the remainder or any of my other Shares when you have a good oppertunity—you please to attend to the Marshall account—and pray write immediately on the receipt of this. Never forget to remember my best regards to your Hon^d father & believe me your sincere friend &c

John May

DEED.

Know all men by these Presents that I, John May of Boston, in the County of Suffolk and Commonwealth of Massachusetts Esq^r—In consideration of One hundred Dollars in hand paid to William Rufus Putnam (my agent at Marietta) on or before the delivering hereof—by Jeremiah Dare of the Town of Marietta in the County of Washington and State of Ohio—The receipt whereof is hereby Acknowledged—Do hereby, give grant sell and convey to the said Jeremiah Dare—One Eight Acre lot of Land lying in the Said Townships of Marietta, and was drawn in the Name of Samuel G. Perkins, and is Numbered in the Ohio Companys Book of Draughts, one hundred and ninety two—

To have and to hold the Said Eight Acre lot of Land hereby granted with the privalidges and appurtenances thereunto belonging—Unto him the said Jeremiah Dare his heirs and assigns forever

In Witness whereof I the Said John May, and Abigail my Wife in token of his Relinquishment of Dower in the premises have hereunto set our hand and Seals*

this was Sent back for want of Warentee, the One now Gone on is thus Warenteed—
J. M.—
 assigns forever. A. M.—

*and, I the said John May Do further covenant with the Said Jeremiah Dare that I am the right full Owner of the said Eight Acre lott and have full right to Sell the Same—and that I will & do Warrant to defend the same against the Lawfull Claims of all people—

Signed Sealed &c—

Oct^r 3^d 1810—

Coppey of a Deed and a Letter to W^m R. Putnam
 Marietta, Oct. 23—1809.

DOCUMENT LII.

Marietta March 15th 1810—

Dear Sir

Your favor dated Oct^r 23 enclosing money and a deed for Jeremiah Dare was duly receivd but immediately after the reception I was called from home, and have been absent through the winter and now for the first time have an opportunity to reply—The money you sent was applied as you directed. M^r Dare paid \$50—which was placed to your credit, an account of the taxes with the vouchers will be sent on to you as soon as duplicate receipts can be obtained.—I have not seen James Smith since I recev'd your letter, but shall conduct according to your directions—should there an opportunity offer for the sale of any of your land it will be attended to—M^r Dare requests that I would remit the and you sent on back to you again—for these two reasons—first M^{rs} May has not acknowledged it—secondly it is not a warrantee he requests that you would correct those errors in a new deed and send it on—however he paid the money as agreed upon my giving him my receipt—The suit against W^m Marshal is progressing Business is very dull in this place money very scarce therefore there is very little opportunity for letting land or sale. Settlement in the Ohio Companys purchase encreases very slowly; many years will probably elaps before all the land will be demanded—My Father requests his regards to be presented to you—

I remain Dear Sir

your Obedient Serv^tW^m Rufus Putnam.Col^o May.

DOCUMENT LIII.

Marietta August 10th 1810—

Dear Sir

I wrote in March last in answer to yours of Oct^r which doubtless you have receiv'd as I have obtained duplicate receipt for the payment of taxes last year they are herein enclosed—

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|----------------------|
| 1 st | James Bowdoin & others amounting to..... | \$53.25 ⁵ |
| 2 ^d | John Mays & others amounting to..... | 17.08 ⁵ |
| 3 ^d | William Marshall & others amounting to..... | 5.86 ⁵ |
| 4 th | Eben ^r Wales & others amounting to..... | 5.86 ⁵ |
| 5 th | Caleb Champney & others amounting to..... | 6.09 ⁷ |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | 88.16 ⁷ |
| Commission on 15 Shares — 6/..... | | 15.00 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | 103.16 ⁷ |
| Money remitted..... | | 102.90 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Balance due me..... | | 000.26 ⁷ |

The taxes for the present you are nearly one fourth higher than they were last and become due on the first of Decem^r your business with W^m Marshal is progressing, but the money cannot be counted on this present year for the payment of taxes—On your returning a corrected deed for Mr Dare there will be fifty dollars in hand for the purpose—it is an unpleasant thing that the taxes have risen, but this proceeds from bad management in our publick men—the origin of this evil was laid in our going from a Territorial Government to a State—The constitution of our Territorial government provided that so soon as there should be 60,000 free inhabitants within any of the contemplated divisions they might form to themselves a constitution & State Government provided it should be repulican—and that such state should be received into the Union upon the limit of the original States—

Congress held large tracts of land in our state has commenced their system of sale—our country was filling with inhabitants when certain exclusive patriots set in motion the forming a state government, but it was objected that we wanted the number required—Vz—60,000—to obviate this difficulty a certain portion of the Country sent agents to Congress a procured a bill to pass—authorizing the Eastern division to form a state government—but connected with it certain propositions—wherein the state was to relinquish the right of taxing public lands, and that they would not tax land sold by the U S for five years after it should be sold—now as there was no other source of supporting our government but from land taxes, the poor Devils that had purchased before this business had them all to pay—now the sale of the public lands has filled the state with inhabitants increased the representation and consequently the expense of government but add nothing to the funds untill after five residence—when I reflect on this business, done under the spurious show of love for the people—I sicken, and abhor the idea of modern republicanism—but why? we are not alone—whenever democracy prevails—some authentic evil preys upon the bowels of the state I sincerely regret the relapse into which my native state has fallen, how to account for it is difficult, but nothing ought to surprise us these days of universal distraction—This season has been very wet even so that it has very inconvenient to secure the crops of hay and wheat, such seasons have usually produced sickness, but as yet there is very little in this quarter—my Father is not in very good health this summer—yet is able to do business; accept his regards for yourself—

I remain dear Sir

Your Ob^t Servt.

W^m Rufus Putnam

Col^o Jn^o May—

J Smith has not called on me since I receivd your letter.

The first part of the history of the world is the history of the creation of the world. It is the history of the beginning of all things, and of the progress of the world from that time to the present. It is the history of the world as it is, and as it has been, and as it will be. It is the history of the world as it is, and as it has been, and as it will be. It is the history of the world as it is, and as it has been, and as it will be.

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

The second part of the history of the world is the history of the world from the time of the creation of the world to the present time. It is the history of the world as it is, and as it has been, and as it will be. It is the history of the world as it is, and as it has been, and as it will be. It is the history of the world as it is, and as it has been, and as it will be.

The third part of the history of the world is the history of the world from the time of the creation of the world to the present time. It is the history of the world as it is, and as it has been, and as it will be. It is the history of the world as it is, and as it has been, and as it will be. It is the history of the world as it is, and as it has been, and as it will be.

DOCUMENT LIV.

Boston Oct 3 1810

Dear Sir

Yours of 26 August came duely to hand inclosing receipts for taxes the last year and a broad hint fer *more* this year—your remarks on the extreaudinary high Taxes of this present year, as well as former Ones, are turely mortifying theire is no such Taxes laid on Any of the wild Lands in this Countrey, in fact it is unfaire & unjust and cannot be patently bourn

I most Sincearly lament and regret with you the relaps of our Commonwealth, & it remains verey Unsartain when if ever She recovers hir former dignety and Splendor—Such an Unwealy house of Repr sentatives upwards of 600 a Majorety of them Violent Ignorant Noysey democrats, fill^d the Chamber last June I dread the time when the long winter Sesion will commence then theire will be constant spoutings from durty filthey fountaines—but. No More—

Inclosed you have my Deed to Jere^b Dare done in the Strongest manner we know how this I presume to be good for. \$ 50.00
 and I allso inclose you in Cash. 67.00
 This Sum is to pay Taxes on 3 Shares my own in \$117.00
 the Ohio Company, Purchases Say @ 7.33 p^r share is. . . . 21.99
 Ditto James Bowdoin & Lady Temple heirs 9 shares. . . . 65.97
 Ditto Eben^r Wales Esq^r. 7.33
 Ditto W^m Wiswald fer Caleb Champneys heirs. 7.33

102.62

Your Comm^r on 14 Shares 14\$, postage &c 38 14.38

117.00

I hope this will reach you in Safety and in good time if Smith does not trouble us any more so Much the better, if he Does I refer you to my former Letter on that Subject—I expect the nex time I hear from you

to be informed that you have got through with the business.

You will observe that I have not sent the Tax for the one Share of W^m Marshal, altho I have repetedly wrote him and in formed his Son for Many Years, yet they have never paid the Least attention to the business. I theirefore give them up to theire own insensability—

I have a Son Arived from Sea Sum three Month ago, by name W^m Rufus he is about twenty three years of age, tired of going to Sea in these-times & not acquainted with felling the mighty Oaks nor in fact, with farmeing of any kind—yet he wishes to become a farmer—had I better Send him on to take up Sum of my burnt Lots and Learn to farm? that is the Question on which I pray your Opinion Am I paying taxes for those Land, which you have sold for me. if I am I hope you will cancel it—I begg you to write me on the receipt of this it is of consequence that we should be informed of the receipt of our Letters in due time. you will please to make my best respects to your Venerable Father & believe Me to be your Most Obedient Servant

J M

To W^m R. Putnam.

DOCUMENT LV.

Marietta Nov^r 7th 1810—

Dear Sir

Your favor of Oct^r 3^d enclosing a deed for M^r Dare and sixty seven dollars in bank Bills come safe to hand—I shall answer your queries as they stand in order—I found Smith determined to pursue the business therefore to save expence I compromised with him for fifteen dollars—I have obtained judgement against W^m Marshal for better than eighty dollars in your account I added interest on the different sums from the time of payment and it was allow'd the money will be collected some time in Decem^r—In reference to your Son I would observe that a farmer life compared with the more busy scenes of life will appear dull—but if he has a taste for it he will do well enough there are two, one hundred acre lots of your lying on the Ohio twenty miles or more below Gallipolis which would make a very good farm and there are scattering settlements along the river near to and adjoining it—Also farms with partial improvements might be bought to great advantage from 1000—to 3000 dollars some with good improvements—All kinds of farmers tools may be had here to good advantage also cattle horses hogs or sheep—I shall be happy to see your son in this country and every assistance within my power shall cheerfully lend him—doubtless you recollect Maj^r Goodale who settled at Bel-pre the garden of the purchase—(unfortunate man he fel by the Indians) his Estate has been rented and neglected untill the buildings which were log are fallen to the ground, and the fences so decayd so that it appears a very ruin—still there remains 160 acres 100 acres of which is first rate bottom and fifty acres now cultivated as above described—with a beautiful extensive front of the Ohio—this tract was sold a year ago

for \$1100 dollars and is now for sale—a few hundred dollars laid out in repairs in fences and cleaning up brush & would render it as complete a farm as any one could wish—it is situated in the midst of an old flourishing settlement—on the reception of your letter im mind first lit on the spot as well calculated to suit your son—My father enjoys very good health as also his family and all connections—Old Friend Battle is is still alive resides in the neighbourhood of his son but dwells by himself that (as he observes) he may eat his *mush* in his own way—accept of my regards & well wishes for yourself and family.

Yours respectfully—

W^m Rufus Putnam

Col^o Jn^o May.

DOCUMENT LVI.

Marietta Sept 11th AD 1811

Dear Sir

That period has arived when it is necessary to inform relative to taxes—enclosed you will receive an account of the taxes paid for those persons you directed in your letter of Oct^r last. I have been the more particular in making it out that it might appear, that the taxes have exceeded the money which has been remitted, by comparing the sums paid, with those receiv'd, you'll readily notice the balances due from those mentioned in the account, which they can pay over with the money for the present year—When I wrote you last, I was in expectation of having recovered the money from William Marshall before this time—but Sir, the commissioners appointed by the Court at length proceeded to the sale of the land attached in the county of Washington, but they would not sel for half the sums due and payment of cost consequently we must travel into other Counties for a further sale which will delay the business in such a manner; that the collection cannot be relied on for the payment of taxes the present year—The taxes for the present year, will amount to some little more than they did last, and become due by the first of December—I think I mentioned in my last that I have settled with James Smith relative to the residuary funds, I found that he would sue for the money and that even if you should gain the suit yet the cost would be more than the fifteen dollars which I gave him—but further, from former decisions I am led to believe that he would have recovered—I here state our accounts (except more relative to the suit)—for 1809 & 1810 the voucher for

1809 have been returned to you, but the account is here included as it is connected with 1810—

| Clo' John May | Dr. | Per Contra | C' |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1809 | | 1809 | |
| to postage on a letter..... | .25 | By balance due for 1808... | \$00.79 |
| Nov. to postage on a letter.... | .75 | Nov' by cash enclosed..... | 19.79 |
| to bills returned not | | | |
| current..... | 4.00 | 1810 | |
| 29 to taxes paid on his land.. | 17.08 ⁵ | Oct. by cash enclosed by mail | |
| to commissions on three | | for pay ¹ of taxes and | |
| shares..... | 3. | commis ⁿ | 25.37 |
| 1810 | | By balance Charged in new | |
| Sept. 15 to cash paid James | | a/c..... | 19.37 ⁴ |
| Smith residuary funds on his | | | |
| share..... | 15.00 | | |
| Nov. 26 to pay of taxes on his | | | |
| land for 1810..... | 22.23 ⁹ | | |
| to commissions on three | | | |
| shares..... | 3.00 | | |
| | <u>65.32⁴</u> | | <u>65.32⁴</u> |

I have nothing material to write only land is very low yet, of a very dull market—I fear the nonresident proprietors will be tired of paying taxes before they will be able to sel their lands for a reasonable price—my father is still living and in tollerable health—request to present his respects to you—

I am with great due respect your

Obt Serv^t

W^m R. Putnam

Sept.11,1811

DOCUMENT LVII.

Boston October 24, 1811

Dear Sir

I received yours of the 11 Sept in due time inclosing Accounts Receipts &c for taxes for the year 1810—I have been prevented from makeing up the budget until now. partley oweing the Death of the Late James Bowdoin who was bureyed in this town the Last week—all the heirs of the Bowdoin family are gone except sum Grand Children of the Old Governor, Named Temple & Winthrops.

I wish you to follow up the W^m Marshal affair to a Close as soon as possable you will keepe the Money in crib for next years taxes, but let me know the exact amount in your Next Letter, which I request you send me on the Receipt of this.—

as you did not inform me how Much the Taxes on each Share is this year, but thought them sumthing more than last—I have theirefore Sent 7.50 p^r Share and one Dollar on each share, your Commission Say on 14 Shares

| | | |
|--|-----------------|---------|
| Vizt—John May | 3 Shares @ 8.50 | \$25.50 |
| Heires of James Bowdoin | 9 Ditto | 76.50 |
| Eben ^r Wales Esq ^r | 1 — | 8.50 |
| Heires of C. Champney | 1 — | 8.50 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 14 | 119.00 |
| ballance due you in New acc ^t — | | 19.37 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | 138.37 |

which sum I now inclose you by a check drawn by the Cashier of our Union Bank on the cashier of the Penselvania Bank @ Philadelphia 138.38 when you pase

it, it will be Necessary for you to indorse the Same—
I thought this the best method of conveying it and hope
it will reach you in safety. I wish you to sell any of
my lotts when you can obtain a fair price & good pay—
remember me to thy aged father, & believe Me to be
your Sincear friend & Humble Servant

J. M—

To W- R. Putnam.

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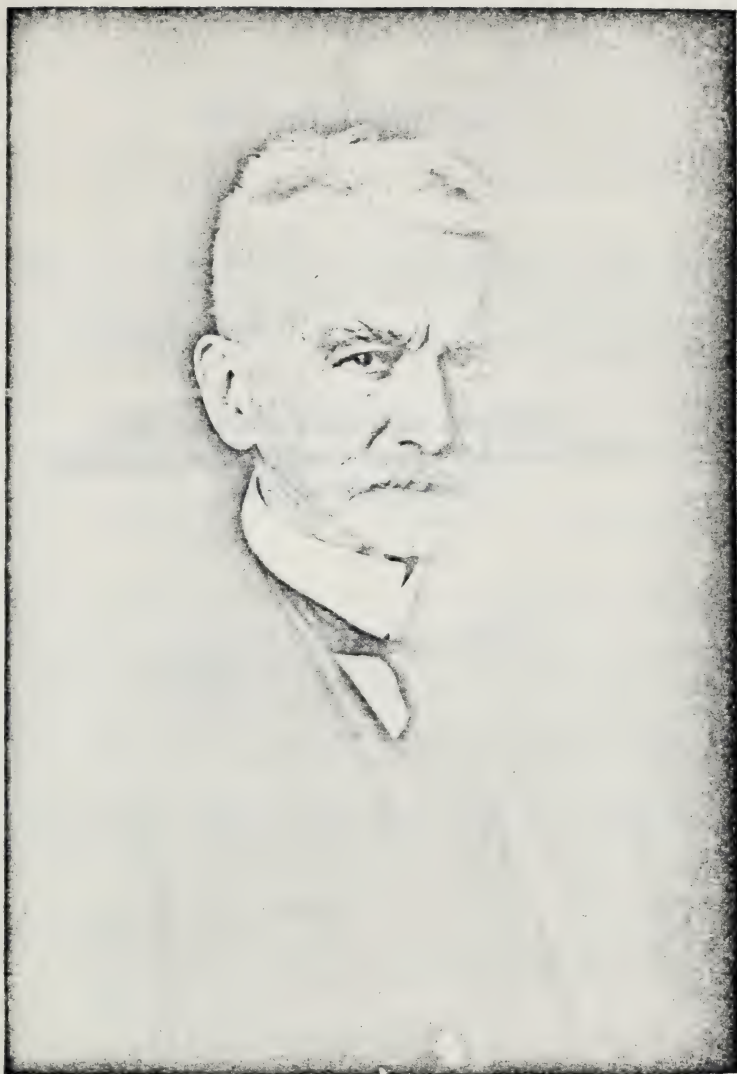
of

**The Western Reserve Historical
Society**

**Organized 1867
Incorporated 1892**



1918



HON. GEORGE FOREMAN ROBINSON
Life Member of The Western Reserve Historical Society
Died July 23rd, 1917

Publication No. 98

TRANSACTIONS

THE WESTERN RESERVE
SOCIETY HISTORICAL

Issued August 1918

Articles of Incorporation
Officers—Membership

Annual Reports for 1917-1918

CLEVELAND, OHIO
1918

STATE OF OHIO

These Articles of Incorporation of

THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Witnesseth, That we, the undersigned, all of whom are citizens of the State of Ohio, desiring to form a corporation not for profit, under the general corporation laws of said State, do hereby certify:

FIRST. The name of said corporation shall be The Western Reserve Historical Society.

SECOND. Said corporation shall be located and its principal business transacted at the City of Cleveland, in Cuyahoga County, Ohio.

THIRD. The purpose for which said corporation is formed is not profit, but is to discover, collect and preserve whatever relates to the history, biography, genealogy and antiquities of Ohio and the West; and of the people dwelling therein, including the physical history and condition of that State; to maintain a museum and library, and to extend knowledge upon the subjects mentioned, by literary meetings, by publication and by other proper means.

In Witness Whereof, We have hereunto set our hands, this seventh day of March, A. D., 1892.

Henry C. Ranney,
D. W. Manchester,
Amos Townsend,
William Bingham,

Charles C. Baldwin,
David C. Baldwin,
Percy W. Rice,
Jas. D. Cleveland,

A. T. Brewer.

The Western Reserve Historical Society

OFFICERS FOR 1917-1918

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WILLIAM P. PALMER

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- (1) Annual or Sustaining members have full privileges, use of library, all publications, annual fee is ten dollars.
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| 1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \zeta, \eta, \theta, \iota, \kappa, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \xi, \omicron, \pi, \rho, \sigma, \tau, \upsilon, \phi, \chi, \psi, \omega, \varphi, \eta, \theta, \iota, \kappa, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \xi, \omicron, \pi, \rho, \sigma, \tau, \upsilon, \phi, \chi, \psi, \omega, \varphi$. | 2. The second part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the case when the parameters $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \zeta, \eta, \theta, \iota, \kappa, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \xi, \omicron, \pi, \rho, \sigma, \tau, \upsilon, \phi, \chi, \psi, \omega, \varphi$ are all equal to zero. |
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DIRECTOR'S REPORT

TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES AND MEMBERS OF THE
WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Gentlemen:

In no one year has history been made as rapidly as in the one just past. The war, into which the United States was compelled to plunge, has been surging on, requiring the time and largely the means of all in order to prosecute it successfully. The vastness of the struggle, the unlimited resources of every kind required, the man power necessary to carry it on, has taxed us in every direction. Yet all these, as never before, show the absolute necessity of maintaining to the fullest extent all that pertains to the uplift of man in educational and allied interests. Never has there been a time when greater calls have been made upon the patriotism of this country. Never has there been a time when the needs have been felt more for enlarging and developing the institutions, whose functions are to preserve and make available all that has gone to make this Republic what it is.

The elements that have entered into its foundations, the developments of its institutions, the manner of life of its citizens, the ideals that have been formulated and made a part of our national existence—all these require careful interpretation and study.

It is peculiarly the function of societies of our type to make possible this careful study of America's history. In order to do this, vast quantities of source material must be painstakingly and diligently sought, brought together, and made available for the use of students of history and economics.

Feeling the importance of this, our own work has been pushed forward just as far as the time seems to permit. Our small staff, all eager to do their part, have worked to their utmost to make the work a success, and to keep the expenses to a minimum.

The war itself has entailed upon us increased responsibilities in preserving the ephemeral literature that may be had today and that tomorrow is practically lost. This work we have undertaken to do as well as our means will permit and some of the results are noted under the head of the library proper.

MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the Society has shown a steady increase for the last three or four years, due largely to the personal efforts of our President. Although it is not by any means as large as is desirable, yet it is encouraging to feel that it is going ahead from year to year.

The membership this year stands at 47 patrons, 84 life members and 302 annual members, making a total of 433 members, an increase of 22 over last year.

Yet each year we are compelled to note with saddened hearts that death has invaded the ranks of our membership and has claimed here and there one who had been a loyal supporter of the work and upon whom we can depend no further.

We are pleased to note that some of the younger generation are taking up the burdens that their fathers were wont to carry, and I trust that as time goes on these younger men will realize that the work their fathers were interested in, is one worthy of their active support and generous assistance,

NECROLOGY

Among the patrons of the society we are compelled to record the death of Colonel Oliver Hazard Payne, who died June the 27th, 1917. Five of our life members have been called home: W. S. Tyler, May 27, 1917, W. C. Scofield, July 6, 1917, Hon. Geo. F. Robinson of Ravenna, July 20, 1917, Harley Barnes, Painesville, October 19, 1917, and Leonard Schlather, April 19, 1918.



HARLEY BARNES

Life Member of The Western Reserve Historical Society

Died October 19th, 1917

Among our annual membership Loftus Cuddy, Wm. E. Cushing, W. P. Murray, Martin Snider, and Chas. W. Wason have passed away.

HARLEY BARNES

On October 19th, 1917, Mr. Harley Barnes, a life member of the Western Reserve Historical Society, passed away very suddenly at his home on Mentor Avenue, Painesville, Ohio.

Mr. Barnes was born in Chester, Geauga County, Ohio, March 6th, 1859. He received his education in the district school, and at Chester Seminary, and moved to Painesville in early life, where he took up the study of law and was admitted to the Bar in 1888, but owing to poor health, he never practiced. In 1890 he formed the firm of Barnes & Scott, in the Abstract business for Lake County. Later, in 1893, he organized the Realty, Title and Investment Company, and retained his interest in it until 1898. From 1890 to 1891 he occupied the position of County Recorder. He was one of the principal stock holders in the Painesville Elevator Company which he formed in 1891. He was also largely interested in forming the Dollar Bank of Painesville, and the Geneva Savings Bank of Geneva.

A prominent member of the Methodist Church of Painesville, Mr. Barnes was interested in all religious enterprises of his denomination, but more especially in Sunday School work.

On December 21st, 1883, Mr. Barnes married Miss Arloa A. Gloin of Chester, who passed away in 1906. On October 4th, 1910, Mr. Barnes married Ethel Daughters, who with their little son Harley D., and a daughter of Mr. Barnes, Mrs. Jolliffe, of Painesville, survive him.

WILLIAM ERASTUS CUSHING

In the death of Mr. Cushing, The Western Reserve Historical Society lost one of its generous supporters, and Cleveland, a distinguished citizen and lawyer, a

worthy scion of one of its oldest and most distinguished families.

Dr. Erastus Cushing, the grandfather of Mr. Cushing, came to Cleveland when it was only a small village, and opened an office for the practice of medicine. He was succeeded by his son Dr. Henry Kirke Cushing, another eminent physician, who married Betsey Maria Williams of New York state. Nine children were born to them. William E., who was the oldest of the boys, was born in Cleveland September 23rd, 1853. His early education was obtained in the public schools of his native city, supplemented by a college education at the old Western Reserve College at Hudson, Ohio. He was graduated in 1875 with the degree of B. A., and honored with election to the Phi Beta Kappa Society. After completing a course at Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass., in 1878, he returned to Cleveland and formed a law partnership with the late Judge Samuel E. Williamson.

Preferring the office work of his profession to that of the Court Room he devoted himself especially to the study of corporation law, and became one of the best read lawyers of his state.

He never sought nor held public office, but his work as a member of the Committee of the American Bar Association on Uniform State Laws, will be of lasting benefit to the people.

Mr. Cushing was always generously helpful to the younger members of the Bar, and ready with counsel and assistance, even at the expense of great personal inconvenience.

As a lawyer, Mr. Cushing lived up to the highest ethical standards of his profession. No lure of profit or of place could tempt him to compromise with them for a moment, and he leaves the record of a professional life as high and spotless as it was devoted and learned and successful.

WILLIAM ERASTUS CUSHING
Member of The Western Reserve Historical Society
Died December 19th, 1917



He was a man of absolute integrity and high ideals, and those who were favored with his friendship counted it among their most precious possessions.

Although Mr. Cushing kept closely to the work of his profession, he found time to give valuable service in other connections; he was Trustee of the Society for Savings, The Western Reserve University, and the University School of Cleveland. He was not only a member and generous supporter of The Western Reserve Historical Society, but was frequently the means of bringing valuable additions to its collections. He held also membership in the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, and in the New England Historical Society of Boston. He belonged to the Union Club, and to the Twentieth Century Club of Cleveland. He was a member and a trustee of the Old Stone Church.

Mr. Cushing married on June 4, 1884 in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Miss Carolyn Kellogg, who survives her husband.

Mr. Cushing died suddenly on the 19th of December, 1917, at the age of 64 years.

JUDGE GEORGE FOREMAN ROBINSON

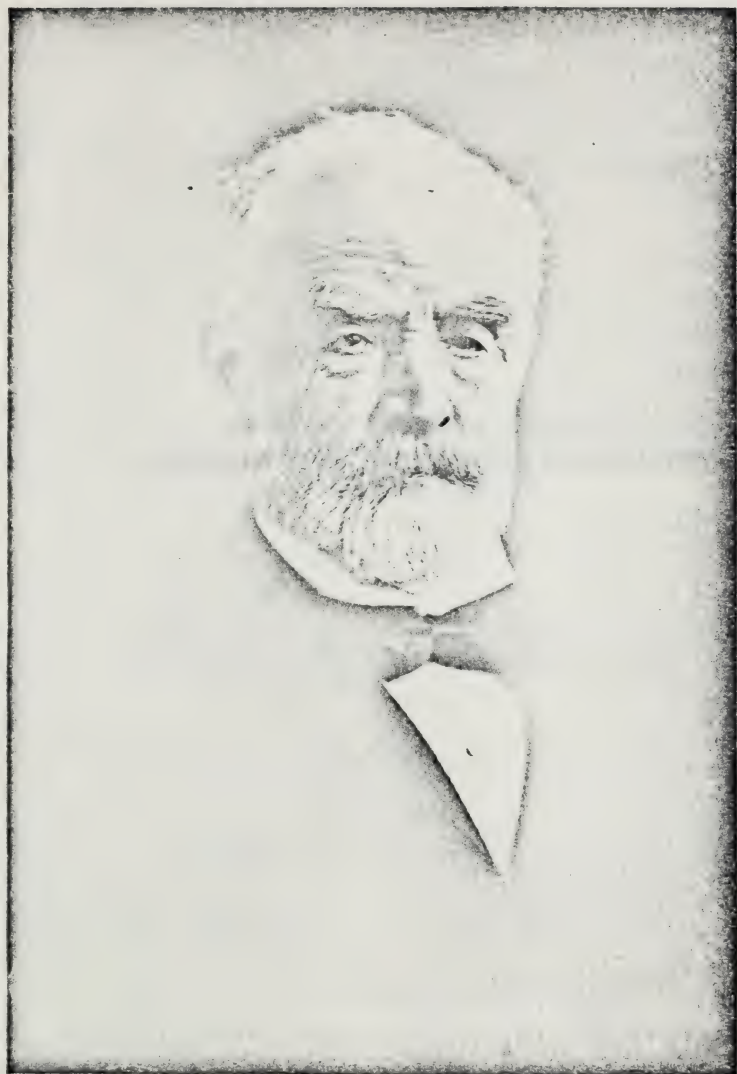
An honored and deeply interested life member was lost to our Society in the death of Hon. George F. Robinson, of Ravenna, who was called to rest July 23rd, 1917.

Judge Robinson was a profound lawyer and a judge whose fairness and clear interpretation of the spirit of the law was recognized by all. A veteran of the Civil War and always intensely patriotic, he was beloved, and now is mourned by all who knew him or came in touch with his many fine qualities.

Judge Robinson was born near Ravenna, Ohio, January 20th, 1844. His parents, George E. and Hannah (Johnson) Robinson, were then living on their farm just north of Ravenna. His early schooling, commenced in the public schools of Ravenna, was

abruptly interrupted by the call of President Lincoln for seventy-five thousand men, and although only seventeen years of age, Judge Robinson answered the call and enlisted as a private in Company F, 16th Ohio Volunteer Infantry on May 11, 1861. He was discharged August 22nd, 1861, on expiration of his term of service; re-enlisted December 22nd, 1861, as First Sergeant, Company E, 80th Ohio Volunteer Infantry; was promoted to Second Lieutenant, March 21st, 1862; to First Lieutenant, January 15th, 1863; to Captain, July 28th, 1863; and was discharged as a paroled war prisoner March 13th, 1865. He was with the 80th Ohio Regiment at Siege of Corinth; was under Grant in the Northern Mississippi Campaign, including the battles of Iuka, in the Campaign around Vicksburg, its siege and the surrender of the same. It was in the latter campaign he was wounded in the neck, and carried the bullet to his death-bed. He was wounded at Corinth, Miss., and again at Mission Ridge, Tenn., and here taken prisoner; incarcerated in Libby Prison, remaining there one year; was then removed to Belle Isle and later to Macon, Georgia, where he was kept until exchanged at Annapolis as a paroled war prisoner, a few weeks before the close of the war.

Judge Robinson immediately returned to his native town and took up the study of law in the office of Luther Day, then one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and was admitted to the bar. He took an active part in the politics of Portage County, serving as County Prosecutor for a period; also for several years was mayor of Ravenna. But other matters besides law and politics claimed his attention. He was an active member in both the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and in the G. A. R. He served as President of the Second National Bank for several years, and was a member of Unity Lodge No. 12, F. & A. M.



WILLIAM CHARLES SCOFIELD

Life Member of The Western Reserve Historical Society

Died July 6th, 1917

Judge Robinson's clear legal mind made him sought for on all sides, and it was not long before he became Judge on the Common Pleas Bench. For a little over twenty-nine years he served the people, who so eagerly elected him, faithfully and justly, covering the courts of Portage, Mahoning, and Trumbull Counties.

A careful and zealous student of history and of the best in literature at large, he gradually accumulated a library of the world's best thought, until it became one of the best collections in that section of the state. Interest in history and the recognition of the great need for the preservation of its sources led Judge Robinson to early become interested in the work of The Western Reserve Historical Society, and many of the Society's rarest historical treasures from Portage County came through his aid and influence.

It was a pleasure and a source of great inspiration to have known him. Extremely modest always, one had only to be in his presence for a short time to see the worth of the man, his great intellectuality, his kindly hospitality and lofty principles. The world is better for the life of such a man, and can ill afford to lose such.

Judge Robinson was married August 22nd, 1867, to Miss Mary Gillis, daughter of the late John Gillis of Ravenna, who survives him with their three sons, Henry M. Robinson, attorney, at Pasadena, California, Lieutenant Richard H. M. Robinson of New York, and Thomas M. Robinson of Youngstown, Ohio.

WILLIAM CHARLES SCOFIELD

In the death of Mr. William C. Scofield which occurred July 6th, 1917, at the exceptional age of ninety-six, The Western Reserve Historical Society lost one of its oldest friends as well as one of its life members.

Mr. Scofield was born October 25th, 1821, near the small town of Wakefield in England. His early young

manhood was spent in Leeds, where he worked at the machinists' trade.

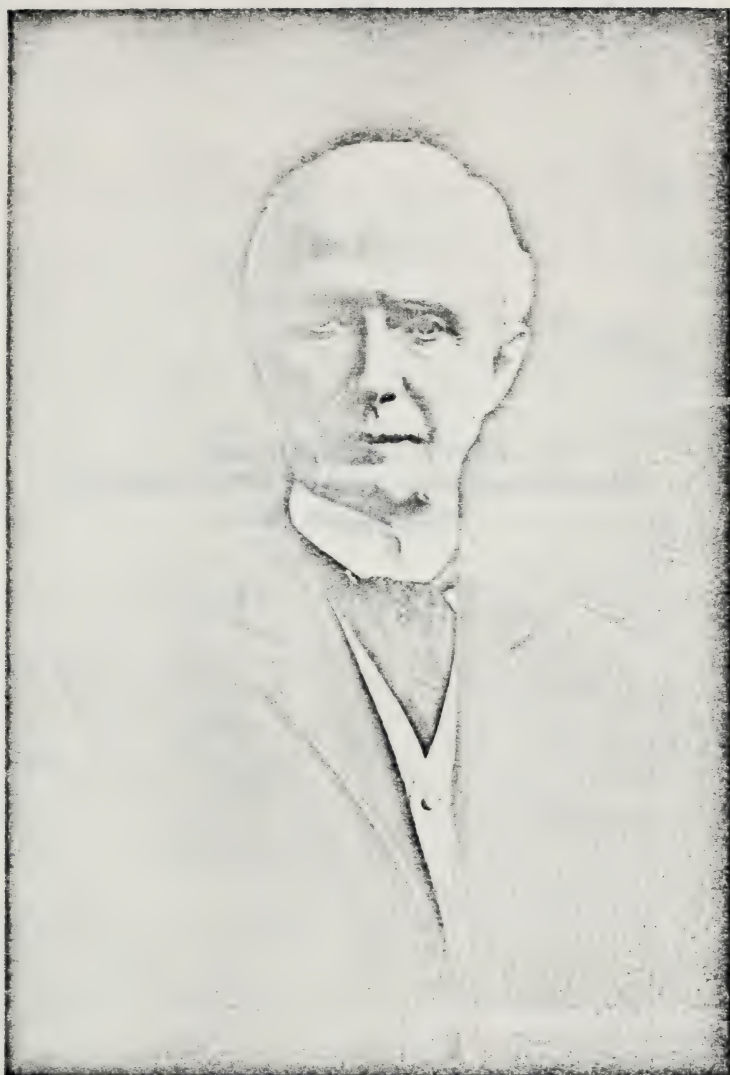
On nearing his twenty-first birthday, he determined to go to America. Here he found employment for one year at Chagrin River, then followed two years work as an employee in A. W. Duty's brick yard. These were followed by two years employment in the Sheriff's office as turnkey.

Soon after, he became associated with Messrs. Stanley, Wick and Camp in the Lard, Oil and Saleratus Works. This firm carried on the business until 1857, when Mr. Scofield bought out his partners and successfully conducted the business alone for five years. In 1861 he associated himself with Messrs. Halle & Fawcett and added the refining of oil to his other business. Gradually his business connections increased. In 1865 he became interested, in oil refining, with the firm of Critchley, Fawcett & Co., also as a partner in the firm of Hewitt & Scofield, New York, in the Oil Commission business, and was Vice President of the Cleveland Chemical Works. Still later in 1863 the firm of Alexander, Scofield & Company was formed to refine oil. In 1872 he organized the Lake Erie Iron Company, of which Company he was President for forty-five years. When the Union National Bank of Cleveland was formed we find Mr. Scofield's name as one of its organizers and also one of its directors for many years.

Thus briefly we have tried to sketch the business career of one of Cleveland's best citizens, one of that type of self-made men, who by their diligence and stirring qualities have helped to place Cleveland in the high place it so justly holds in this nation.

Mr. Scofield's home life was a most happy one. On December 1st, 1846, he married Miss Anne Barker, whose decease occurred August 13th, 1893. Some years later Mr. Scofield married Mrs. Ida Cobb.

Mr. Scofield's widow, three sons, Charles W. Scofield, Frank R. Scofield, and George F. Scofield,



WASHINGTON S. TYLER

Life Member of The Western Reserve Historical Society

Died May 27th, 1917

and three daughters, Mrs. Frank Rockefeller, Mrs. D. Edward Dangler, and Mrs. James H. Cogswell survive him. One son, Ezra B. Scofield, passed away just a few months ahead of his father.

WASHINGTON S. TYLER

The President and founder of the W. S. Tyler Company passed away Sunday morning, May 27, 1917, at Hotel Statler, Cleveland, Ohio, where he and Mrs. Tyler had made their winter home.

Mr. Tyler, son of Royal W. Tyler and Fannie A. (Holmes) Tyler, was born April 12, 1835, in that part of Cleveland which is now known as the West Side, but then, as Ohio City. His schooling was obtained in the public schools, and at Bacon Academy, in Colchester, in the old state of Connecticut, where he was sent as a boy. At thirteen he gave up his school and took a position as clerk in the dry goods business in Hartford, Connecticut. On his return to Cleveland, at the age of sixteen, he entered the firm of E. I. Baldwin & Company, dealers in dry goods. Later, in 1872, he formed the W. S. Tyler Wire Works Company, of which Company he was active President up to a short time before his death, and even after he gave up his active connection, his counsel and direction were frequently sought. There is seldom an employer more beloved by all his employees than Mr. Tyler was; their interests were his, and early he established a profit sharing plan in which the employees, numbering over 1000, shared. His government over his assistants was always by kindness.

He was one of Cleveland's leading philanthropists. Many of the institutions that stand for the welfare and educational advancement of her citizens received his hearty support and wise counsel.

He was a life member of The Western Reserve Historical Society, a member of the Board of Trustees of Western Reserve University, the Children's Aid Society, Lakeside Hospital, Hiram House, the Old

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the President of the United States, from the year 1789 to the present time. The names are given in the order in which they were elected, and the year of their election is given in parentheses.

George Washington (1789)
John Adams (1797)
Thomas Jefferson (1801)
James Madison (1809)
James Monroe (1817)
John Quincy Adams (1825)
Andrew Jackson (1829)
Martin Van Buren (1837)
William Henry Harrison (1841)
John Tyler (1845)
Franklin Pierce (1853)
James Buchanan (1857)
Abraham Lincoln (1861)
Andrew Johnson (1865)
Ulysses S. Grant (1869)
Rutherford B. Hayes (1877)
James A. Garfield (1881)
Chester A. Arthur (1881)
Grover Cleveland (1885)
Benjamin Harrison (1889)
William McKinley (1897)
Theodore Roosevelt (1901)
William Howard Taft (1909)
Woodrow Wilson (1913)
Warren G. Harding (1921)
Calvin Coolidge (1925)
Herbert Hoover (1929)
Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933)
Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953)
John F. Kennedy (1961)
Lyndon B. Johnson (1963)
Richard M. Nixon (1969)
Jimmy Carter (1977)
Ronald Reagan (1981)
George H. W. Bush (1989)
Bill Clinton (1993)
George W. Bush (2001)
Barack Obama (2009)
Donald Trump (2017)

Stone Church, and of the Workingmen's Loan Association, a Director of the Commercial National Bank, and a member of the Union, Clifton, Country, and Roadside Clubs.

Mr. Tyler married Marion A. Clark, daughter of James F. Clark, May 5, 1869, who survives him with their daughter Mrs. Elizabeth T. Miller.

PUBLICATIONS

Last fall we published Tract No. 97, which embraced the annual reports of the Society, as Part I, and "Side Lights on the Ohio Company of Associates, from the John May papers," edited by Prof. E. J. Benton, as Part II.

It has been felt for some time that it would be better to divide our publication and have the reports of the Society issued separately from the balance of our publications. This is more in line with the method of publishing by the leading Societies, and also aids in the classification of material. Then again, the Director's report is read on the first of May and if not published until November, it leads to confusion, as many of the gifts that have been made after the first of May, do not appear in the list of donations, although the publication may be dated some months later.

Our intention is to drop the word "Tract," but use the same continuous numbering for the publications, having the Director's report, etc., put out under the head of "Transactions," and the balance of our publications under the head of "Collections." So that with this year the publications will consist of "Transactions" as No. 98 of the Society's publications, and the "Collections" as No. 99.

Also a check list has been prepared, to be published as soon as may seem best, which will be supplementary to Tract No. 93, and will include the recent books added to the King Collection of books on Costume.

TRIPS

As has been the habit in former years, a number of short trips have been made to the various towns on the Reserve, resulting in good additions to our collections. The pressure of work in the building however has been so great that it has been impossible to take as many of these trips as seemed to be desirable.

Every little while our attention is called to this or that collection that could be procured if we went after it, and while we cannot cover the whole field, yet we cover as much as we can.

One long trip was made to the South early this spring which resulted in the accumulation of some very rare material, as well as the making of acquaintances which are always helpful to the Society and results from which are felt long after the trip may be forgotten.

Owing, to the high waters a day was spent in Cincinnati which was not anticipated when laying out the trip, but it was put to good advantage and the beginning of an arrangement for obtaining two quite important collections was made.

From Cincinnati we visited Lexington, Kentucky, where we called at the Transylvania College Library, and also at the Lexington Library. Material was obtained at both places. A side trip was also made to Paris, Kentucky, for some special items.

Nashville, Tennessee, was our next stop, where we visited the Tennessee Historical Society, also the old Normal School; and it was here that quite a bunch of material pertaining to the old Willoughby Normal School, which we had not been able to obtain before, was picked up. It seems that the Principal of the School in the thirties moved to Nashville and became connected with the Normal School there. Also Volumes II and III of Benjamin Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation* were obtained. This periodical, the first one published in the United States

devoted to the cause of Anti-Slavery, was started by Mr. Lundy in Ohio, and continued afterwards at Nashville, and still later in Baltimore. There are very few copies of this, in fact I know of no other set in any of the libraries.

The State Library was also visited and a fine collection of the publications of the State of Tennessee during the war period was dug out of the basement of the State House.

Our next stop was at Jackson, Mississippi, and a visit was made to the beautiful new State house recently completed. They have no general State Library at Jackson. Their Division of Archives under the management of Mr. Dunbar Rowland, is being excellently conducted. The collections of the Mississippi Historical Society are in the building, and consist almost entirely of museum material. There seems to be a dire need in this state for a general library where the people of the state can have the advantages resulting therefrom. The publications of the Mississippi Historical Society are very valuable; but, as that Society is not collecting to any extent the publications of other societies, perhaps accounts for the fact that there are not more sets of their own publications in the various libraries of the country. We did not have a single volume of them in our own library, complete as it is in most of the Society publications of this country. Arrangements were made by which we have obtained a full set, and will receive others as issued.

We also had presented to us by Mr. Rowland, a large collection of Confederate States money and separate state issues.

From Jackson we went to New Orleans, a place full of interest, also of many old book shops, and good public libraries, as well as private libraries. A number of these were visited.

In the Howard Memorial Library, whose genial librarian, Mr. Beers, has been with it from its inception,

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nearly three days were spent in going through their duplicates, and a case of material has just been received from there which we have not yet checked up.

A visit was also made to the Louisiana State Historical Society and the Louisiana State Museum. A file of the Louisiana State Historical Society publications which we were lacking have been received on exchange.

The private collections of Mr. Gaspar Cusachs, President of the Louisiana Historical Society, and also the remarkable collection on Louisiana belonging to Mr. Thompson, President of the Louisiana State Museum, were both seen. Mr. Thompson, it is said, has as fine a collection on Louisiana as there is in existence, and many profitable hours could be well spent in the quietness of his private library.

From New Orleans we went to Mobile, and then on to Montgomery, where we felt quite at home, owing to the closeness of Camp Sheridan and the constant meeting of Ohio acquaintances who were, connected with the camp at that time. From an historical standpoint, of course, everything centers around the State Capitol, in which the Confederate Government was first organized and Jefferson Davis proclaimed President.

Here, Honorable Thomas N. Owen, State Archivist, is developing a collection very similar to our own, of course, being centered around Alabama history as a nucleus; and by untiring efforts he has brought together during the last fifteen years, a very fine general collection. He took great pains in showing me the different methods he has employed in handling the various collections, and a delightful day was spent in comparing notes. A large collection of material was also obtained from this place.

Stops were also made at Atlanta and Savannah. At the latter place, by special invitation, a visit was made to the De Renne Library at Wormsloe, Georgia, which is probably the most outstanding collection on

Georgia history. We also visited the Georgia Historical Society.

From Savannah we went to Charleston and then to Columbia. Since our last visit to Charleston, the South Carolina Historical Society has been housed with the Charleston Library in their new fire-proof building.

From every place we visited, material was obtained. Several hundred issues of Confederate newspapers, which are exceedingly desirable, were picked up on this trip. Besides the books, pamphlets, newspapers and other material already received, there are still some newspapers coming, which when received, will make an addition to the above of two or three thousand separate numbers.

We have been very fortunate thus far, in not being disappointed in the results of any one of our trips. They have always brought handsome returns in the way of material, yet, of equal value has been the insight gained into new methods, and in getting into closer touch with other organizations working along the same lines as ourselves. It is a source of a great deal of personal pleasure to see how well known our Society has become in all sections that have been visited.

THE LIBRARY

The library has kept up a steady growth through the year. We have an efficient corp of workers and although we could easily use more, in order to keep the work any where near up to date, yet we hardly think it is the time to expand in this direction.

The report of the cataloguing and the detail work accomplished will best be seen in the statistical record of the library later on in this report. We shall treat the work of the library under its different divisions.

MANUSCRIPTS AND BROADSIDES

The Manuscript and Broadside collections of the Society are steadily growing and each year there is

generally some one collection that stands out more prominently than the others. The one this year which perhaps overshadows the others is the collection of the John Kerr manuscripts.

John Kerr was one of the four original proprietors of Columbus, Ohio, and from the character of the papers in his collection, he must have been a person of great prominence, not only in the development of Columbus, and the getting of the capitol removed to that place, but also in various other enterprises.

It was on February 20th, 1810, that the General Assembly of Ohio passed an act to provide for a commission to select a site for the permanent seat of government, which up to that time had been first at Chillicothe, then for a short time at Zanesville, later, again at Chillicothe. The plateau on which Columbus stands was patented as early as 1802 by some Revolutionary War refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia, but was later purchased by James Johnson, Lyne Starling, Alex. Laughlin, and John Kerr, who combined their interests under the firm name of "Proprietors of Columbus." John Kerr became secretary and probably on this account, was able to save the large collection of manuscripts which we have obtained. The whole collection contains several hundred manuscripts, records, maps, etc.

We call your attention to a few of the more prominent items.

The original manuscript plat of Columbus and other parts of Franklin County, in the hand of and signed by John Kerr, dated Chillicothe, February 26, 1807—size 28 x 13 inches, and giving the names of the owners of the various lots. This is probably the first land map of Columbus.

The original manuscript plat of Worthington, signed by Jas. Kilbourne, dated May 16, 1804. This is undoubtedly the first plat of Worthington.

A manuscript record book containing some thirty plats, surveys and patents of Ohio lands, dated 1800-23.

Another volume with some twenty odd plats and surveys of Ohio lands, dating between the years 1807 and 1811.

The most valuable maps in the collection are two companion maps forming the Northwestern section of Ohio, extending west of the Reserve and north of the Greenville Treaty Line. The first of these two maps, covers the western half and is bounded on the north by the northern boundary of Ohio, on the south by the Greenville Treaty line, on the east by the east line of Piqua District and on the west by the State line. Size 46 x 27 inches. The other map, (45 x 28 inches) covers the eastern half of this section, and is bounded on the north by Lake Erie, Miami River, etc., on the south by the Scioto river, etc., on the east by the line of the Reserve. These maps are in the hand of John Kerr, and dated (1816). They have never been published so far as we have been able to find. On them are carefully located the Indian trails, villages, forts, etc.

Another map, which also has never been published, is the original map of Township No. 6, north, Range No. 16, east of first meridian in Ohio, showing Sandusky River and Bay, Portage River, etc. Size 16 x 13 inches. This also is in the hand of John Kerr and dated (1815).

An entire monograph could easily be given to the description of the various maps in the collection, all of which are in manuscript. All told there are in the neighborhood of 200 maps and surveys.

Among the other items in the collection are:

The record book of the "Franklinton Turnpike Company," containing the Minutes of the Proceedings, Names of Members, Articles of Association, Surveys, etc., from April 7, 1817 to Sept. 12, 1818. Mr. W. T. Martin in his history of Franklin County states that "The Columbus and Sandusky Turnpike Company was the first joint stock company road constructed, any part of which was in Franklin

County." This Company was incorporated, Jan. 31, 1826, while the Franklinton Turnpike Company antedates it nearly nine years.

The original manuscript book of the Proprietors of Columbus containing the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Proprietors from their first meeting at Franklinton, April, 1812 to June 16, 1815, also accounts of sales of land in Columbus from June 18, 1812 to Sept. 21, 1819.

The original manuscript book inscribed "Account of Sales of Lots in Columbus," commencing the 18th of June, 1812, gives the names of the purchasers, residence, number of lot, date of sale, prices sold at, etc.

A manuscript inscribed "Owners of Lots in Columbus," dated 1822.

The original manuscript Report of the Election of Officers of Scioto Lodge No. 2, F.&A.M. of Chillicothe, dated Dec. 5, 1810, and about 12 other manuscript records of this early Ohio lodge.

The record book containing the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Polomic Literary Society, Chillicothe, list of members, etc., Jan. 1803.

The original record book giving rules and regulations of the Chillicothe Library, with catalogue of the books therein, 1804 to 1813. This library was one of the first to be established in Ohio, and far antedates any record at Chillicothe of its early libraries.

The original manuscript charter of the Farmers' Bank of Columbus, one of the earliest banks in Ohio. Mr. Kerr was the first President of this bank.

Original manuscript of an Authentic Arithmetic in the hand of John Kerr, dated Jan. 28, 1788.

An unpublished manuscript journal in the hand of John Kerr of a tour from Pittsburgh to Kenahawa, Va. and return in 1800. This gives description of towns, villages, settlements, and other interesting items noted on this trip.

A large manuscript book containing the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Columbus Library, Constitu-

tion, Rules and Regulations, Names of Members, Number of Shares issued to each subscriber, Names of Officers, Catalogue of books, etc., April 8, 1816 to Feb. 9, 1819. This record shows that a library existed in Columbus several years earlier than any mentioned by the historians of Columbus, or by the State Librarian.

Among the manuscripts and broadsides added to the library this year may be mentioned the following gifts:

Miss Stella T. Hatch. Typewritten manuscript of the "Pioneer Women of Cleveland, West Side, 1807-1850."

Dr. G. C. Ashmun. Field Book of Surveys of Tallmadge.

Mr. S. P. Baldwin has placed with the Society for permanent preservation a collection of miscellaneous items, largely manuscripts pertaining to the development of Gates Mill and its history. In this collection is the manuscript history of Gates Mill taken down from two of the oldest inhabitants in 1904. Also records of the Maple Leaf Land Company, and copies of a number of papers that have been published there; newspaper clippings, etc.

Thomas and Charles P. Kinsman. A large number of manuscripts relating to the Western Reserve, from the papers of Hon. Calvin Pease. These were received through the courtesy of Mr. Wm. G. Dietz.

The Executive Committee, Cleveland Centennial Commission. Index to Pioneer Families of Cleveland, by Mrs. Gertrude Van R. Wickham.

Mrs. Perry L. Hobbs. Report of the Historian of the Western Reserve Chapter, D.A.R., 1915-1917.

Mrs. Virgil P. Kline. Broadside—"To the People of New England." Pertaining to the War of 1812.

Mr. F. F. Prentiss. Four early Ohio Broadside. A collection of letters, documents, etc., of the Vallandigham family of Ohio, 1796-1864.

Miss Eva L. Reefy. Manuscript Record Book, Anchor Lodge, No. 119, Knights of Honor, Elyria, Ohio, 1875-84.

Mr. Wm. P. Palmer. Autographed manuscript of "The Battle of Fair Oaks" by General Erasmus D. Keys, 1889. Original autographed manuscript Report of the Battle of Monocacy, by Major General Lew Wallace, Baltimore, 1864. Log of the U. S. Steamer Brooklyn and

Richmond of South Western Gulf Blockading Squadron, in command of Joseph Simpson, 1861-1864. A large collection of manuscripts, order books, record books, General Orders, etc., of the 10th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. The Mercury Extra, dated Dec. 20, 1860. Broadside—The Union is dissolved. Broadside offering \$100,000 reward by the War Department, Washington, April 20, 1865, for the capture of Surratt, Booth, and Harrold. A miscellaneous collection of Civil War song-sheets.

MAP COLLECTIONS

Within a few days after our last annual meeting, the steel cases in our manuscript room and vault were installed, and as we could from time to time, the work of classifying and putting away the material intended for these rooms, has been carried on.

The large, interesting and exceedingly valuable collection of maps and atlases, largely relating to America, that came to us from the C. C. Baldwin estate, have been removed from their cases, in which they have stood for a long number of years, carefully opened up, partially arranged and classified. The wall maps have been removed from their rollers and prepared for mounting and laying flat. The loose maps will have to be mounted on cloth in order to preserve them. The work on these should be pushed forward just as soon as funds may be obtained for it. The atlases we will catalogue at once. In our next report we hope the work will have progressed sufficiently so that we can give a more elaborate account of this interesting collection.

Although in some way your director was familiar with the collection, yet in going through it more carefully he realizes the importance and completeness of Judge Baldwin's work in gathering these early American maps.

In addition to the Baldwin collection and the maps listed below, quite a number of Civil War maps have come in through the William P. Palmer collection, the most interesting being the manuscript maps of

General Wilder. This collection consists of nearly thirty manuscript maps, used by General Wilder in his campaigns.

Mr. W. H. Cathcart. 12 maps—miscellaneous.

Mr. Daniel M. Bates. Lloyd's Official Map of the State of Virginia, 1858 and 1859. Lloyd's Military Map & Gazetteer of the Southern States. General Grant's Campaign War Map.

Mr. John T. Loomis. Map of the Federal Territory from the Western Boundary of Pennsylvania to the Scioto River.

Mrs. Cora Bowler Malone. Map of the Western Reserve, including the Firelands, September, 1826.

Mrs. E. B. Nicalaus. Atlas of the World, 1701-1721.

NEWSPAPERS

No special effort has been made during the year to increase to any extent our newspaper collections, yet the Society has received a number of very important papers, largely through gifts.

Special mention should be made of about 1000 issues of Confederate newspapers that have been added to the William P. Palmer Collection, and also of the file of the Lorain Constitutionalist and Elyria Constitution, from Vol. I, No. 1, Oct. 3, 1866 to date, which was presented to the library by Miss Eva L. Reefy, whose father was the editor and owner of the paper from 1872. This makes our files of the Elyria papers unique, covering as they do practically all of the early papers that have been issued there.

The attached list gives the additions to this division.

Miss Jessie Allen. *The Ashtabula Sentinel*, 4 vols, Jan. 1854-1860. *The Evening Post*, New York, 1859, 60. *The Buffalo Weekly Express*, 3 vols, 1856-1858. *The National Era*, Washington, D. C., 1855-1857. *The Cleveland Morning Leader*, 1859, 60. *The New York Weekly Tribune*, 1856.

The Amherst News Company. *The Amherst Weekly News* from the beginning in 1914.

Mrs. Mabel Askue. *The Connecticut Valley Advertiser*, containing History of East Haddam.

Mrs. Isabel Worrell Ball. 30 volumes of *The National Tribune*, 1885-1917.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer. Monthly bound volumes for 1917.

The Cleveland Press. Quarterly bound volumes for 1917.

Mr. F. F. Prentiss. Collection of early Newark, Ohio, newspapers, consisting of about 600 issues.

Estate of M. E. Raymond. A large collection of Warren and Chardon Newspapers.

Miss Eva L. Reefy, Elyria. A file of the *Lorain Constitutionalist*, and later known as the *Elyria Constitution*, from 1866 down to its close.

Mr. Lyman Treadway. Framed copy of the *Boston Gazette & Country Journal*, Monday, March 12th, 1770.

Ballou's Pictorial, Boston, 1856 and 1857.

The Sentinel & Star in the West, Cincinnati, 1829 and '30.

Photostat copies of *The Boston News Letter*, 1714-1725.

Mr. Wm. P. Palmer. *The Maryland News Sheet*, Baltimore, Md., 1861-62. Also a large collection of Confederate newspapers.

Mr. F. M. Wood. *The Painesville Telegraph*, Oct. 18, 1866. *Cincinnati Weekly Gazette*, Sept. 21, 1881. *Le Journal*, 1916 (2 nos.). *The Telegraph*, Nov. 27, 1844. *The Press & Advertiser*, Dec. 5, 1860. *Christian Advocate and Journal*, Aug. 12, 1836.

The Lawrence Publishing Company. *The Ohio Farmer* for 1917, bound.

WAR LITERATURE

As has been stated in the beginning of the report, extensive efforts have been made during the year to cover material concerning the present war. This has been so bulky and so large that it is almost impossible to enumerate anything like a satisfactory list of it. I will however, call attention to a few items to show the general character of material that is being obtained.

American Lithograph Company, New York. 7 posters pertaining to the war.

American National Red Cross, Washington, D. C. Collection of Posters.

Latham Lithograph and Printing Co., Brooklyn, N. Y. Collection of Posters.

Liberty Loan Committee, New York. Printed material pertaining to the Liberty Loan.

Mr. Otto Miller. Collection of typewritten material pertaining to Camp Sheridan.

Mr. Sidney A. Mayer. File of *Trench and Camp*, Camp Sheridan.

Trenton Times. File of *Camp Dix Times*.

Chaplain Crain. File of *The Reconnaissance*.

Columbia University. *Columbia War Papers and Bulletins of Information*.

Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C. The full set of their publications.

Courier Journal. File of *Trench and Camp*, Camp Zachary Taylor.

Mr. J. Robert Crouse. Printed material pertaining to War Savings Certificates and Thrift Stamps.

Mr. Forest F. Dryden. "*The Army and the Navy of the United States of America*."

Erie Lithograph Company. Posters.

Governors of the different Federal Reserve Banks. Printed material pertaining to the Liberty Loan.

Florida Times Union. File of *Trench and Camp*, Camp Johnston.

Forbes Lithograph Manufacturing Company. Posters.

Albert Frank & Company. Posters.

Chaplain A. C. Howells. File of the *Eighty-third Division News*, Camp Sherman.

H. C. Miner Company. Collection of posters.

Mr. Geo. M. Smith. File of *Trench and Camp*, Camp Pike.

Prof. J. M. Telleen. "*The Camp Workers and Their Work*." Camp Sherman.

Mr. Wm. Thompson. Partial file of the *Red Cross Magazine*.

Mr. Tim Thrift. 19 original drawings pertaining to the Red Cross Campaign.

U. S. Marine Corps. Posters and circulars pertaining to U.S.M.C.

U. S. Navy. Collection of Posters.

U. S. Navy League. Printed material pertaining to the war.

U. S. Navy Recruiting Station, Pittsburgh. Posters.

Wyanoak Publishing Company. Posters.

Mr. Basil L. Walters. File of the *Ambulance Service News*, Allentown, Pa.

Mr. Alvah Bradley. Report of the Publicity and Advertising Committee, Y. M. C. A. War Work Campaign, Nov. 11-17, 1917. War Work Week—Nov. 11-17, 1917—portfolio containing photographs, literature, posters, etc. of the Y. M. C. A. Campaign.

Mr. Adam Strohm. File of *Trench and Camp*, Camp Gordon.

Mr. Geo. W. Gossel. File of the *Pass in Review*, Ft. Worth, Texas.

BOOKS

The general additions to the library for the year amount to 8,000 miscellaneous books and pamphlets. A large proportion of these have come in through special funds as enumerated below.

J. D. COX FUND

This fund was used this year in the purchase of the Washington medals, an account of which is given under the head of Medallie Collections in the Museum.

RALPH KING FUND

The Costume Collection which has been largely increased during the last three years, by means of this fund, has been further added to this year. It has been used even more this year than last. Several of the schools that had made little use of the collection before have become very much interested, and the room set aside for these books has been used daily by workers who are constantly praising the facilities so nicely provided by Mr. King.

The 714 volumes in the King Collection have been carefully catalogued during the last three months. In addition to the general author and subject cards filed in the regular catalogue, a special catalogue has been made which is to be kept in the Costume room, convenient for the users of the collection. For this

special catalogue about 900 cards have been prepared.

As many of the books in this unique collection are exceedingly rare and expensive, and, oftentimes in beautiful bindings, one of the assistants has made folders of binding cloth lined with soft outing flannel to keep them from rubbing against one another, which in a short time would seriously damage the highly polished surfaces of the bindings.

The following books have been added by Mr. King to the Costume Collection this year:

41 volumes. *The World in Miniature*, by W. H. Pyne.

17 volumes. *Ladies Monthly Museum*, Vols. 11-27.

1 volume. *English Costume*. A series of 24 colored costume plates describing the dresses worn from 1053 to 1807.

1 volume. *Greek Costumes*—Original drawings by Moyr Smith, containing 20 original colored drawings.

1 volume. *Histoire du Costume en France*, par J. Quicherat. Paris: 1875.

1 volume. *The Ladies Companion and Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 3, London: 1851.

1 volume. *Costumes des Pyrénées*. Alfred Dartiguenave.

Making a total of 63 volumes.

In addition to these Mr. W. T. Higbee has made a valuable donation of "Silks in the World of Fabrics and Fashions," and 16 Fashion magazines.

WM. P. PALMER FUND

It is almost impossible to do justice to the books and pamphlets that have been received through the above fund, which this year amount to 1294 books and pamphlets, in addition to the portraits, maps, newspapers, and manuscripts that have come from the same fund.

Some twenty rare and valuable items on Lincoln have been added to the collection. The items that we lack in *Lincolniana* are growing less every year and therefore the ones to be obtained are those that are seldom offered. This is true with regard to much of

the Confederate material that is lacking. As we have become better acquainted with the collections of other Societies we find there are very few that excel this collection of Mr. Palmer's, in any respect. In many of its divisions we are far in advance of other libraries.

Special effort has been made along the line of Confederate material. A large number of pieces of sheet music printed in the South during the war period have been added to this collection from time to time. This year quite a large number of pieces have come in.

We enumerate a few of the more important and outstanding books and pamphlets that have been added during the past year.

Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at its first session, 1862. Raleigh, 1862.

The Battle of Fort Sumter and first victory of the Southern Troops. Charleston, 1861.

Acts and Resolutions of the Second Session of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, 1861. Montgomery, Ala. 1861.

Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at its second session, 1863. Raleigh, 1863.

Journal of the House of Commons of North Carolina at its Session, 1862-63. Raleigh, 1863.

Provisional and Permanent Constitutions together with Acts and Resolutions of the first session of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, 1861. Montgomery, Ala. 1861.

Articles of War for the Government of the Armies of the Confederate States. Charleston, 1861.

Alabama. Ordinance and Constitution of State of Alabama, of the Provisional Government, and of the Confederate States of America. Montgomery, 1861.

Alabama. Acts of the called session, 1863, and of the third regular annual session of the General Assembly, held in Montgomery, August 17th, and the second Monday in November, 1863. Montgomery 1864.

Georgia. Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia passed in Milledgeville in December, 1865, and January, February, and March, 1866. Milledgeville, 1866.

Mississippi. Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Miss. Called session, at Macon, August, 1864. Meridian, Miss. 1864.

Mississippi. Laws of the State of. Passed at the regular session held at Jackson, November and December, 1861, and January, 1862. Jackson, 1862.

Mississippi. Laws of the State of. Passed at the regular session held in the city of Jackson, October, November and December, 1865. Jackson, 1866.

Mississippi. Laws of the State of. Passed at called session held in Macon, March and April, 1864. Meridian, Miss. 1864.

Mississippi. Laws of the State of. Passed at called session held in Macon, Aug., 1864. Meridian, Miss. 1864.

Florida. The Acts and Resolutions adopted at the first session of the 12th General Assembly. Begun and held at the Capital, Tallahassee, Nov. 17, 1862. Tallahassee, 1863.

Florida. Acts and Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its 14th session begun and held at the Capital in Tallahassee, December 18, 1865. Tallahassee, 1866.

Virginia. Acts of the General Assembly of. Passed at the extra session assembled at Richmond, June 19, 1865. Richmond, 1865.

North Carolina. Ordinances of the State Convention published in pursuance of a resolution of the General Assembly ratified February 11, 1863. Raleigh, 1863.

Tennessee. Acts of the State of Tennessee passed at the first session of the 34th General Assembly for the year 1865. Nashville, 1865.

Louisiana. Acts passed by the 5th legislature of the state at its session held and begun in Baton Rouge, January 21, 1861. (French and English) Baton Rouge, 1861.

Louisiana. Acts passed by the 6th legislature of the state held and begun in Baton Rouge, November 25, 1861. (French and English) Baton Rouge, 1861.

Louisiana. Acts passed by the General Assembly of the State of, at the extra session held and begun in New Orleans, November 23, 1865. (French and English) New Orleans, 1866.

Louisiana. Acts passed by the 7th legislature of the State of Louisiana at its first session held in the city of Freeport on the 18th day of January, 1864. Shreveport, La. 1864.

South Carolina. Journal of the Convention of the people of South Carolina held in 1860, 61, and '62 together with the Ordinances, Reports, Resolutions, etc. Columbia, S. C. 1862.

Rules for the House of Representatives of the Confederate States. Richmond, 1862.

F. F. PRENTISS FUND

Mr. Prentiss is showing the same deep interest in our work that he has from the first, and is providing us with funds that have enabled us thus far to purchase such needed Ohio material as has been offered to us.

The fund is most welcome, as it makes it possible for the Society to purchase the items directly they are offered, so that we are less liable to lose books through delay caused by having to seek the funds first.

There has been added through this fund during the year 139 books and pamphlets. Among these perhaps the most interesting are as follows:

Papers relative to the Mission of Hon. Butler King of Europe. Milledgeville, Ga. 1862.

Quelques considerations sur la defense de l'etat de la Louisiane. Nouvelle-Orleans, 1861.

Narrative of Richard Lee Mason in the Pioneer West. 1819.

One Garfield Scrap Book.

Ashe's Travels in America, 1806. New York edition, 1811.

Birbeck's Notes on a Journey in America. Dublin, 1818.

Conclin's New River Guide. Cincinnati, 1853.

Report of the Attorney General on Contract with John C. Symmes. 1803.

Journals of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ohio, two sessions, 1818.

A Collection of 30 pamphlets on General James A. Garfield.

A Collection of early Ohio newspapers.

Papers in relation to the Official Conduct of Governour Sargent in connection with the Mississippi territory. Boston, 1801.

Chauncey's Letter to a Friend. 1767.

- Holditch, Robert. *The Emigrants' Guide to the U. S.*
 Harmon, Daniel W. *Journal of Voyages and travels in the interior of North America.* 1820.
 Norton, John N. *The Life of Bishop Chase.* 1857.
 Phillips, Cutler. *Map of Ohio and Description.*
 Beatty, Chas. *The Journal of a two months tour; with a view of promoting religion among the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania.* London. 1768.
 Winter, N. O. *History of Northwestern Ohio.*
 Meek, Basil. *History of Sandusky County.*
 Also a number of other early Ohio imprints.

H. A. SHERWIN FUND

The fund established by Mr. H. A. Sherwin while he lived, for the purchase of books on the Mormons, has been completely invested. We are hoping that some day this fund may be re-established so that this valuable collection may again be carried on to a larger extent.

There has been purchased during the year 47 items, the most important one being a copy of *The Evening and Morning Star*, June 1832,-September 1834, published at Kirtland. These early Mormon papers are almost impossible to obtain and the Society is to be congratulated in having as good files as they have of these early periodicals.

Among the items purchased, we mention the following:

Stansburg, H. *Die Mormonen-Ansiedlungen.* Stuttgart, 1854.

Greene, J. P. *Facts relative to the expulsion of the Mormons.* Cincinnati, 1839.

Mormon Fanaticism Exposed. A Compendium of the Book of Mormon, or Joseph Smith's Golden Bible. Boston, 1842.

Document of Correspondence, Orders, etc. relating to Mormons. Fayette, Mo., 1841.

The Report of the Public Discussion at Stockport between John Bowes and Mr. Joseph Barker. London, 1855.

Smith, Joseph. *The Book of Mormon*, 3d ed. Nauvoo, Ill. 1840.

Pratt, P. P. *A Voice of Warning*, 2d ed. rev. New York, 1839.

Smith, Joseph. *The Book of Mormon*, 1st Welsh ed. 1852.

Smith, Joseph. *The Book of Mormon*, 1st French ed. Paris, 1852.

Smith, Joseph. *The Book of Mormon*, 1st Italian ed. Londra, 1852.

Lyon, John. *The Harp of Zion*. Liverpool, 1853.

Hickman, Bill. *Brigham's Destroying Angel*. Explanatory Notes by J. H. Beadle, Esq. New York, 1872.

GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH

This division of our work is constantly growing. There have been more searchers, who have been working on their family histories this past year than ever before. To keep up with the demands in this direction is always impossible, yet our collections have been increasing rapidly.

This year we have added 466 genealogies to the library, 31 through individual gifts and exchanges, and the remainder were purchased by means of

THE J. H. WADE FUND

Through this purchase, many of the rarer and choicer genealogies have been obtained. A large percent of these were issued in small editions of fifty or one hundred copies, rarely any in larger editions than of 250 copies, and it is this that causes the scarcity and high prices of so many of the family histories. Still others have been privately printed and seldom get into the book shops where they may be purchased.

With another one or two purchases of the magnitude of this one, so generously financed by Mr. Wade, our collection will rank well up with those of the older and more extensive collections in the East. It might stimulate both interest in, and gifts to this division of our work if we were to publish a brief check list of the various family histories now in our collection.

Mr. Wade's gift has certainly been appreciated, judging from the remarks of those who are already reaping the benefit of this magnificent addition.

Following is a list of the genealogies added this year outside of the J. H. Wade gift.

Mrs. Louis Richmond Cheney and Miss Eliza Trumbull Stickney. *A Genealogical Chart of some of the Descendants of John Trumbull.*

Mr. Percy Adams, England. *A History of the Adams family of North Staffordshire.* London, 1914. This is one of the most beautiful and elaborate genealogies received during the year.

Mr. F. A. Baker. *Genealogical Record of Rev. Nicholas Baker (1610-1678) and his Descendants.*

Mrs. F. A. Ball. *1917-1918 Year Book of the Samuel Ashley Chapter, D. A. R.*

Mr. Pierson Worrall Banning. *Roster of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of California.* 1916. Also a file of the *Liberty Bell.*

Mr. P. H. Baskerville. *The Baskerville Family, Richmond, Va.* 1912. *Additional Baskerville Genealogy, Richmond, Va.* 1917. *The Hamiltons of Burnside, North Caroline, Richmond,* 1916.

Rev. Newton W. Bates. *The Bates Bulletin.*

Mr. E. M. Chadwick. *The Chadwicks of Guelph and Toronto and their Cousins.* Also *Supplementary Notes and Addenda.*

Chicago Chapter, D.A.R. Year book for 1917-18.

Clarence W. Eastman. *An account of some of the Ancestry of Harry Thompson and Myra Hull.*

Mrs. Fenno-Gendrot. *The Ancestry and Allied Families of Nathan Blake 3rd and Susan (Torrey) Blake.*

Mr. Alden Freeman. *Memorial of Captain Thomas Abbey. His Ancestors and Descendants of the Abbey Family.*

Mr. E. B. Greene. *The Greene's of Rhode Island, with Historical Records of English Ancestry, 1534-1902.* By Louise Brownell Clarke. 1903.

Captain Hollenbeck. *History of the Cahoon Family and Chart.*

Mr. B. A. Leonard. *The Newton Genealogy.*

Miss K. P. Loring. *The Loring Genealogy by Charles Henry Pope, and Katharine Peabody Loring.* Cambridge, Mass. 1917.

Mrs. Amos B. McNairy. *Genealogical Records*. Edited by Jeannie Robison and Henry C. Bartlett.

Mr. Chas. E. Mather. *The Mather Family of Cheltenham, Pennsylvania*. By Horace Mather Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1910.

Mr. Edward A. Merritt. *Revised Merritt Records*. Comp by Douglas Merritt. New York, 1916.

Mr. Frederick C. Nims. *Notes Genealogiques sur la Famille Raizenne*.

Mr. O. O. Page. *A Short account of the Family of Ormsby of Pittsburgh*. 1892.

Mr. John Henry Patterson. *History of the Beck Family*. By Charlotte Reeve Conover.

Mr. John Pearson. *Descendants of Andrew Webber, 1763-1845*.

Mr. Theodore Cuyler Rose. *The Tousey Family in America*.

Mr. Harry L. Shiner. *Descendants of Abraham Tourtellote Andrews and his wife, Miriam Lurinda Guild*.

Dr. Moses D. A. Steen. *The Steen Family*. 2d edition, 1917.

Mr. Virgil C. Taylor. *Historical Sketches of the Romer, VanTassel and Allied Families and Tales of the Neutral Ground*.

Dr. J. J. Tyler. *One Line of Descent from the Branford, Connecticut Line of Tyler*.

Mr. S. E. Wait. *A Partial History of the Whittier, Fox, Colburn, Packard, Brainerd and Wait Families*.

Mrs. Cyrus Walker. *The English Ancestry of Peter Talbot of Dorchester, Mass., compiled for Emily Talbot Walker*, by J. Gardner Bartlett.

Mr. J. S. Wrightnour. *The Frampton Family*, by J. S. Wrightnour.

In addition to the books that came in through the special funds a large number of individual gifts have been made to the Society, among which we note the following:

Miss Jessie Allen. Thirty-two miscellaneous volumes.

Mrs. W. W. Armstrong. Sixty-nine miscellaneous volumes, 8 pamphlets.

Dr. G. C. Ashmun. *The National Portrait Gallery*. 3 volumes.

Dr. Elroy M. Avery. Ten miscellaneous pamphlets.
Estate of Robert Bailey. One hundred and fifty miscellaneous volumes.

Thomas W. Balch. "*The Philadelphia Assemblies.*"

Mr. H. G. Baldwin. "*Old Roads out of Philadelphia.*"
By John T. Paris.

Mr. S. P. Baldwin invited your director to make a selection from the books in his private library that would be of use to the Society. The selection consisted of some sixty volumes and two hundred pamphlets. The collection included a bound set (lacking two volumes) of the *National Geographic Magazine* and a number of the *Bulletins of the Geological Society*. *Lowndes Bibliographers Manual*, 11 vols. *Hall's Legends of the West*, first edition. *Hubbard's Narrative of Indian Wars*. In addition to these Mr. Baldwin has sent in 126 magazines and 24 miscellaneous volumes.

Mrs. Isabel Worrell Ball. Forty-six numbers of *The Indian Leader*. Sixty-six miscellaneous publications.

Mrs. M. M. Bond. *Arthur's Magazine*, 4 volumes, 1872, 1873, 1879 and 1880.

American Colleges. A large number of general catalogues have been received from our various American Colleges.

Mrs. Charles Brooks. From the estate of Mr. Virgil P. Kline—67 miscellaneous volumes.

Mr. C. M. Burton. Reprints of manuscripts from the Burton Historical Collection, Volumes 1, 3, 5 and 6.

Mr. Joseph G. Butler. "*A Journey through France in War Time.*"

Mrs. Oscar J. Campbell. Eighty-four miscellaneous volumes and ninety-nine magazines.

W. H. Cathcart. Seventeen volumes, three hundred pamphlets.

Mr. N. A. Chapman. Three hundred and eighteen books and three hundred and twenty-five pamphlets—miscellaneous.

Mr. Pierce C. Chilton. T. F. Botsford's "*A Boy in the Civil War.*"

Miss A. B. Clafin. A File of the *Nation*, for the year, also twenty-six numbers of *The New Republic*.

Mr. A. H. Clark. *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes Regions*. By E. H. Blair. 2 vols.

Mr. W. C. Cochran. *The Dream of a Northwestern Confederacy*. By Mr. Cochran.

Mr. J. D. Cox. Set of the *Cleveland Foundation Surveys*. Twenty-five vols. and a number of rare Ohio Books.

Mrs. C. J. Craft. *Atlantic Monthly* file for 1917. Ten miscellaneous pamphlets and four miscellaneous volumes.

Miss Alice K. Cushing. *One English Text Book*, 1821. *Goodrich's History of the United States*.

Mr. W. E. Cushing. *The Records of Massachusetts*. Six vols. *Result of Researches among the British Archives, relative to the Founders of New England*. By S. G. Drake. *Memorials of the Dead in Boston in Copp's Hill Burying Ground*. By Thomas Bridgman.

Wilson M. Day. *History of the Connecticut Valley* in 2 volumes, by L. H. Everts. *History of Springfield, Massachusetts* in 2 vols. *Records of the Town of Cambridge, Mass.* *First report of the Board of Trade Committee on Industry*, 1893.

The W. J. DeWrenne Georgia Library. *A Short History of the Confederate Constitution of the Confederate States of America*. 1861-1899. *A Catalogue of books relating to the History of Georgia in the library of W. J. DeRenne*.

Mr. Frank P. Dresser. *Memoir of George Frisbie Hoar*.

Miss Bettie A. Dutton. Thirty-six early text books.

Mr. Lorenzo Fish. Two early text books.

Mr. Clarence W. Fitch. "*Old Fifteen*"—A history of early Masonry in Cleveland.

Mrs. J. B. Foraker. A collection of Speeches and other publications of Mr. J. B. Foraker.

Mrs. H. C. Ford. *Council Proceedings of Cleveland, 1880-83*. *Ordinances of the City of Cleveland, 1880-81*.

Mrs. E. L. Harris. Thirty-five miscellaneous pamphlets.

Mr. Will Hayes. "*The Immortal Six*."

Mrs. S. H. Herriman. Six miscellaneous volumes and pamphlets.

Mr. Henry Holcomb. Four miscellaneous volumes.

Miss Holtkamp. "*Raising the Wreck of the United States Battleship Maine*."

Mr. M. B. Houghton. "*Two Boys in the Civil War and After*." "*From the Beginning Until Now*."

I. O. O. F. Home. *History of the Odd Fellows' Home of Ohio*. By L. E. Dodd.

Mrs. C. R. Koch. Ten volumes—*The Reports of the Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at the 24th to the 33rd Meetings.*

Mr. Melvin F. Lewis. Forty volumes—miscellaneous.

Mr. W. S. Long. "*James Barbour.*" By W. S. Long.

Mrs. Amos B. McNairy. Eight volumes—*Magazine of Western History.* Four pamphlets.

Mrs. Cora Bowler Malone. Twenty-seven miscellaneous volumes.

Mr. H. C. Miller. *29th Year Book, First Ohio Heavy Artillery*, also sketch of. By Mr. Miller.

Mr. Otto Miller. *Ancient Town Records.* Vol. 1, *New Haven Town Records, 1649-1662. The Institution and Records of the New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati.*

Col. John P. Nicholson. Fifty pamphlets and one hundred and forty pieces, miscellaneous, on the Civil War.

Mr. Wm. P. Palmer. Vol. 4 of *The Hakluyt Society Publications.* Vols. 1 and 2, *Hurlburt's Ohio Company.* Vols. 2, 3, and 4, *Sprague's Journal of Maine History*, and continuation. Vols. 41-46, *The Geographical Journal.* Clara Endicott Sears' "*Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands.*" Clara Endicott Sears' *Gleanings from Old Shaker Journals.* *The Unwritten History of Braddock's Field.* And a number of other pamphlets and books outside of the Civil War collection.

Mr. Hosea Paul. Annotated copy of "*A Military Record of Battery D, First Ohio Veteran Volunteers Light Artillery.*"

Mr. John Pearson. *History of Lonoke County, Arkansas. Cleveland Industries 1880-1910.*

Mr. E. R. Perkins, Jr. *Memorial of Edwin Ruthven Perkins.*

Mr. F. F. Frentiss. Sixty-two miscellaneous volumes.

Mr. Louis Ravenel. *Messages of the Presidents.* Vols. 1-11.

Miss Eva L. Reefy. Fifteen volumes of Ohio Laws; seventeen miscellaneous pamphlets.

Mrs. E. P. Roberts. One set of *Orth's History of Cleveland.* 3 vols.

Mrs. J. P. Sawyer. *Representative Citizens of Ohio.* By G. F. Wright.

Mrs. Johanna Schroeder. Four early text books.

Col. D. M. Scott. *A Brief Sketch of the Career of Captain Catesby.* By R. Jones. Roster No. 317. Camp Catesby, March, 1918.

Mrs. Belden Seymour. *The Life of Brigham Young.* By E. H. Anderson.

Mr. Geo. B. Shepard. *History of Jericho, Vermont.* 1763-1916.

Mr. Howard E. Talbot. Two early text books.

Mr. W. C. Talmage. Seven miscellaneous pamphlets.

Mr. Daniel R. Taylor. Collection of early text books.

Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston. "*The Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag.*" By Mr. Thurston.

Mr. J. H. Wade. Andrews, Bessie Ayers. *Sketches of Greenwich in Old Cohansey. Selections from the Correspondence of the Executive of New Jersey from 1776-1786*

Hollifield, Rev. A. Nelson. *Remembering the days of Old.*
Hewitt, Louise. *Historic Trenton*, 1890. Schenck, William Edward. *An Historical account of the First Presbyterian Church, Princeton, N. J.* 1850. Col. Scott's *Letter to Judge Nevius, Mr. Lupp, and Mr. Wood of New Brunswick, Oct. 1841.* Sprague, Wm. B. *Discourse at the First Presbyterian Church, Oct. 9, 1867.* Findley, Rev. Wm. T. *Forty Years Retrospect.* Historical Discourse at Central Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J. Jan. 28, 1877. MacDonald, James M. *Some Reniniscences of a Twenty Years' Ministry*, Princeton, N. J. 1873. Ellis, Franklin. *History of Monmouth County, N. J.* Phila. 1885.

Mr. Charles Williamson. Ten volumes, ten pamphlets.

Mr. Sidney S. Wilson. Twenty-two miscellaneous volumes.

Mr. George C. Wing. An original of the folio edition of the *Reports and Arguments of Sir John Vaughan, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.* London, 1677. By Thomas Roycroft.

Mr. W. E. W. Yerby. *History of Greensboro, Albama.* By Mr. Yerby.

THE MUSEUM

The Interest in the Museum continues to grow, although little effort has been made to increase the collections, nor have we endeavored to make better classification of the material, owing to the limited space that we have. The Schools are taking increased advantage of this material. This year there were 71

classes from the various colleges, high schools, grammar schools, and private schools of Cleveland and its suburbs, that visited the museum, against 50 classes last year, and 27 the year before.

The attendance in the museum is about the same as during the previous year, although it has not been possible to keep a correct account of the visitors. We have no turnstile and the count must be made by an attendant who oftentimes has to be away from her desk, in different parts of the building, and can only count those whom she sees pass by her door.

PICTURES AND PORTRAITS

No more interesting collection has been developed in connection with the Museum than that of the pictures and portraits. We have made an effort to obtain as many of these as we could.

A short time ago we made an appeal for the portraits of noted Clevelanders, and as a result of this appeal, perhaps the most outstanding picture that has come to the Society is the oil painting of Mr. Daniel P. Eells, presented by his son, Howard P. Eells. This generous example of Mr. Eells, we hope will be followed by others, and that from time to time, portraits of our leading men may find a place in our collections.

The following list will show that a number of interesting pictures have come to the Society.

To the Wm. P. Palmer Collection—about one hundred photographs and Civil War pictures.

Miss Stella T. Hatch. Large framed portrait of Mr. Daniel Pomeroy Rhodes. Large framed portrait of Mrs. Daniel Pomeroy Rhodes.

Mrs. W. W. Armstrong. Twenty miscellaneous pictures. Framed picture of General Breslin. Framed Group of United States Officials.

Mr. E. H. Baker. A collection of seventy-three photographs—Red Cross Campaign, Y. M. C. A. Campaign, and others pertaining to the war.

Mr. N. A. Chapman. A collection of miscellaneous pictures.

Mr. Howard P. Eells. Oil Painting of Mr. Daniel P. Eells.

Mr. F. F. Prentiss. Water color portrait of Tecumseh, the Shawnee chieftan, painted by Holland. Framed picture of Te Aho te Rangi Wharepu, Chief of the Ngati-Mahuta, tribe of Waikato, New Zealand. Showing the practice of tattooing.

Mrs. C. J. Craft. Drawing of Plymouth Church on Prospect Street just west of Ninth Street. By C. H. Strong.

Mr. Andrew Squire. Framed views of New York, 1776, 1826, 1916.

Mr. Belden Seymour. The Directors of The People's Savings & Loan Association, 1871—The First Board—22 portraits.

Mr. W. C. Talmage. Embroidered picture made by The Standard Sewing Machine Company of Cleveland for the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.

Mr. Wm. P. Palmer. Oil Painting of Lewis Clark, the original George Harris of "Uncle Tom's Cabin. Painted from life by F. H. Dart, Oberlin, Ohio. Also Daguerrotype of Josiah Hanson, original of "Uncle Tom."

Mrs. C. H. Williamson. One early view of Cleveland about 1850.

Mrs. H. B. Barnes. Framed picture of M. A. Hanna.

Mrs. C. K. Halle. Framed portraits of Jacob Lesteinstecker and wife.

Mr. George M. Edmondson. Framed picture taken at Senator Hanna's residence at Luncheon, July 25, 1894, showing Senator and Mrs. Hanna, Mr. and Mrs. Alger, Governor Merriam, President and Mrs. Wm. McKinley and Mrs. McKinley's nieces, and Miss Phelps. Also photograph album of early Clevelanders taken by E. Decker.

Mr. B. Dettlebach. Framed hand drawn portraits of Mr. Henry R. Groff, John D. Rockefeller, President C. F. Thwing, Chas. W. Elliott, Ex-President of Harvard University.

Other items added to the museum embrace the following gifts:

Elroy M. Avery. Two Indian Portraits.

Miss Holtkamp. Paper Knife made of the wood from the "Maine."

Mr. George C. Wing. A water vase or jug of the Quichua Indians, Peru.

Mr. N. C. Smith. Hand made telegraph instrument used in the early sixties on the L. S. & M. S. R. R.

Miss Jessie Allen. A hunter's leather shot pouch, 100 years old.

Mr. J. W. Walton. An old field chest used by Col. Whittlesey.

Mr. Frank Gottschalt. One wool reel.

Mrs. C. J. Craft. Swingling knife for dressing flax made by David Humiston in 1850.

Mr. Wallace N. Stearns. The Sword of Captain Wm. Wallace Munn. Communion Service from Park Methodist Episcopal Church, Madison, Ohio, purchased in 1863.

Mr. N. A. Chapman. One tea set—four pieces of early pewter ware and two pewter spoons. Also three early antique glass bottles, and two old candle lanterns.

Mr. E. G. Norris. One spinning wheel.

Mr. Prentiss Baldwin. Collection of ten pieces of Astic pottery, etc.

Mr. J. V. N. Yates. U. S. Frigate Congress Flag. 18 x 9 feet, containing 26 stars.

Mr. James W. Ellsworth. One Whiting and Winchester eight day grandfather's clock, from Rutland, Vermont.

Mr. F. F. Prentiss. Two boomerangs, bowie knife, one Chinese clock, and a number of other relics.

Mr. G. W. Crossette. A collection of implements, etc., largely from the Philippine and Feejee Islands.

Mrs. T. W. Hill. A collection of Mexican pottery and utensils, consisting of twenty-five pieces. One pair of Indian Moccasins.

Mr. P. G. Ravelson. Fifteen arrowheads.

MEDALLIC COLLECTIONS

The Society's collections of medals, which last year's report showed had been largely increased, has more than doubled itself this year. The most complete

and outstanding group that has been received is that of the collection of.

WASHINGTON MEDALS.

purchased from the J. D. Cox fund.

Our attention was called last summer to a remarkable collection of medals formed by a gentleman in the east, who had for his hobby, devoted a long life to the gathering of different Washington medals. He had been not only enthusiastic, but most painstaking, replacing a poorer specimen, whenever possible, with a better one. Feeling that he had gone as far as he could in this collection, it was offered to us, and on calling Mr. Cox's attention to it, the Society was most generously authorized to purchase the entire collection, consisting of some 900 varieties, from the above mentioned funds.

Further purchases made from the same funds during the year have increased the collection until it now consists of (in round figures) 1000 varieties of Washington medals.

Of all the outstanding heroes in American history no one has been more extensively honored by a patriotic and loving people than George Washington. As Mr. W. S. Baker in his exhaustive check-list of Medallic Portraits of Washington printed in 1885, in speaking of his classification of the medals says—"It needs but a glance at the titles of the different groups, to reveal how the name of Washington is associated in the minds of a people, with all their diversified interests, pursuits and enterprises. Setting aside those referring directly to his own history, civil and military, the memorials of his death, eulogistic inscriptions and quotations from his pen, which comprise nearly all that properly speaking may be termed Washington medals, the work will be found to include almost every subject, national, local, and personal, which has arisen during the century. If benevolence is to

be awakened, patriotism aroused, emulation excited, temperance inculcated, industry stimulated, or events to be celebrated, the mind of the designer seems to turn at once to the Pater Patriae, and the medal struck for the purpose or occasion, must of course, bear his head as the prominent object."

In classifying this large collection, we have followed carefully the classification adopted by Mr. Baker, adding to it such subject headings as, "The Centennial Anniversary of the Inauguration," "Centennial of the Evacuation of New York," "Centennial of the Proclamation of Peace," "Centennial of the Constitution," etc., which groups have been formed since the publication of Mr. Baker's work. Of many of these medals only a very few have been struck. The Westwood medal, which comes under the head of Eulogistic medals, we possess one of the two known specimens, struck in tin. Of others in the collection there have been only four or five specimens struck. The metals used in striking these medals are lead, tin, silvered metal, copper, brass, bronze, silver and gold.

LINCOLN MEDALS

To the Lincoln medals given the Society last year by Mr. Palmer, some 79 different ones have been added, making our collection of Lincoln medals now about 500. In addition to this, Mr. Palmer has presented to the collection:

Eighteen U. S. Grant medals.

Two Andrew Jackson.

Twelve General McClellan.

Five Henry Clay.

Thirteen Lane and Breckenridge.

Two General Fremont.

One General Hancock.

Sixteen Wm. H. Harrison.

Six Douglas.

Nineteen various Civil War Generals.

Other Lincoln medals have been received from:

Mr. Victor Morgan, Medal of Lincoln, awarded by the Cleveland Press.

Mr. Charles Edison, Lincoln medal commemorating Lincoln Centennial at Irvington-On-Hudson.

The Illinois Watch Company, six Lincoln medals.

Lincoln Accident Insurance Company, one Lincoln medal.

Lincoln Stove Company, one Lincoln watch charm.

The Toledo News Bee. Lincoln medal awarded by the *Toledo News Bee*.

Mr. C. J. Morgan, Large bronze medallion of Lincoln.

Other additions to the medallic collections are as follows:

Mr. C. J. Morgan. A large plated brass medallion of George Washington.

Mr. Robert Glenk. Medal of the Centennial of Louisiana Statehood.

Mr. Clark. Badge of the Annual Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans. 1915.

NUMISMATICS

The paper money collection of the Society, which had been scattered in various scrap books, mounted in different ways, and put away in various envelopes, the past summer was brought together, unmounted, carefully cleaned, pressed and remounted on uniform cards, holding four ordinary size bills to the sheet, all carefully hinged so that both sides of the bills can be seen, and then filed under the individual states in specially made portfolios. This was a very tedious task as many of the bills were old and had to be handled with the utmost care, and those that were in any way torn had to be mended. The results accomplished are very satisfactory and has enabled

us to make some interesting displays along the different periods. Following is a list of the bills:

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|------------------------------|-------------|
| Colonial & Continental . . . | 237 | | For'd. 1148 |
| Alabama | 104 | Missouri | 26 |
| Arizona | 2 | Nebraska | 5 |
| Arkansas | 51 | New Hampshire | 4 |
| Connecticut | 36 | New Jersey | 34 |
| Delaware | 6 | New York | 114 |
| District of Columbia | 13 | North Carolina | 157 |
| Florida | 7 | Ohio | 257 |
| Georgia | 252 | Ohio State Bank | 56 |
| Illinois | 13 | Pennsylvania | 45 |
| Indiana | 22 | Rhode Island | 27 |
| Iowa | 2 | South Carolina | 52 |
| Kentucky | 19 | Tennessee | 75 |
| Louisiana | 94 | Texas | 14 |
| Maine | 6 | Vermont | 14 |
| Massachusetts | 46 | Virginia | 200 |
| Maryland | 19 | Wisconsin | 7 |
| Michigan | 156 | | |
| Minnesota | 1 | Confederate issues | 1099 |
| Mississippi | 62 | | |
| | | Foreign | 75 |
| | | Total | 3389 |

On my southern trip a large number of issues of paper money were received, largely through donations, or exchanges. Also there were obtained, in addition to the items enumerated below, several hundred bills of the Confederate States issues:

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| Alabama | 25 bills |
| Florida | 2 bills |
| Georgia | 101 bills |
| Louisiana | 1 bills |
| Mississippi | 50 bills |
| North Carolina | 11 bills |
| Tennessee | 2 bills |
| Virginia | 4 bills |

Similarly to the paper money the task of classifying and arranging the collection of coins has been continued. We have had to devote odd moments to this work as the details of the regular work of the Society

takes up the larger part of our time. Results in the coin collection cannot be made known until the work is completed.

The following have been presented to the Society:

Mr. Eckstein Case. Two Early Ohio bills, one St. Louis bill.

Mr. N. A. Chapman. Fifty-four miscellaneous bank bills.

Mr. Wm. P. Palmer. Four Mexican bills.

Mr. George J. Schwartz. Seven Ohio Bank bills.

Mrs. C. C. Canfield. Four Roman coins, six Spanish coins, Indian Wampum.

Mrs. T. W. Hill. Sixteen early Japanese coins and a small collection of miscellaneous coins.

NEEDS

There are one or two needs that seem to be more outstanding than others, and I simply call the attention of the Society to them as they should be looked after as soon as they can be.

The first is the installing of a vacuum system for cleaning the building. Ten years has made a great change in this respect. When the Society collections were first moved to University Circle, it was clean in this vicinity. This was before the advent of heavy motor trucks and automobiles. Now even with the windows closed, and the best of weatherstripping on them, the dirt continuously sifts through, due, I think, largely to the shaking of the building by these heavy trucks. Then in the summer time, when we are obliged to have ventilation through the open window, the atmosphere laden with soft coal, natural gas, and soot, together with the continuous dust raised by the passing automobiles, keeps the books constantly covered with dust, so that it is almost impossible to hand them to our patrons in the clean condition they should be. A system of this kind would probably cost in the neighborhood of \$1500 to \$2000, but it would well pay for itself not only in the preservation

of our books, but in being able to present them to the users of the library in a proper state of cleanliness.

The second need is that of further funds for binding. Last year we spent some \$250, and the year before the same amount, for binding some of our Historical Society publications and other serials. This immediately made available a number of valuable sets that were practically unusable before. Many of our newspapers are unbound, which is extremely detrimental to the papers when used in their present condition. These would be expensive to replace, and in fact many of them could not be, if once destroyed.

For a few years we could easily use from \$500 to \$1000 a year on necessary binding.

The third item we have already mentioned in our last report. This is the need of a stack room. The collections have been growing rapidly and are fast reaching the point where it will be impossible to accommodate properly, the incoming books unless we have better facilities. We have already taxed the facilities of the building to the utmost. We appreciate the fact that there are a great many demands at the present time, on everyone, still, this is something that should receive careful consideration from our officers and trustees.

Material for the sketches of Colonel O. H. Payne and Leonard Schlather has not reached us in time to insert in this year's issue, but will be printed in next year's report.

STATISICAL REPORT OF THE CATALOGING DEPARTMENT

May 1, 1917 to April 30, 1918.

| | |
|--|-------|
| Number of bound volumes accessioned during the year . . . | 3768 |
| Number of newspaper volumes accessioned during the year . | 98 |
| Number of pamphlets accessioned during the year | 1198 |
| Number of volumes withdrawn during the year | 16 |
| Number of pamphlets withdrawn during the year | 27 |
| Last number in bound-volumes accession book | 46334 |
| Number of bound volumes withdrawn to date, as duplicates
or inappropriate for our collections | 4266 |
| Number of newspaper volumes reaccessioned to date in the
newspapers accession book | *1627 |

Total number of withdrawals to be deducted 5893

| | |
|--|-------|
| Number of volumes accessioned in general bound-volumes
accession book remaining to date | 40441 |
| Whole number of volumes accessioned in newspaper acces-
sion book | 3075 |

Total number of accessioned volumes in library 43516

| | |
|---|-------|
| Last number in pamphlets accession book | 14936 |
| Number of pamphlets withdrawn to date | 518 |

Total number of accessioned pamphlets remaining 14418

Total number of accessioned volumes and pamphlets to
date 57934

There are also 163 volumes of manuscripts accessioned to date, in
special manuscripts accession book.

*The number of reaccessioned newspaper volumes deducted dur-
ing the year 1915-16 (1620 volumes) was not included in the deduc-
tions in last year's report, as it should have been. The error is now
corrected.

About half of the Palmer collection is still unaccessioned, as
well as some bound volumes of newspapers and Ohio state docu-
ments. Other unbound and unaccessioned material include
serials, annuals, college catalogues and bulletins, speeches,
sermons, the Brodie collection of amateur journalism, the almanac
collection, the unbound newspapers, and unbound state docu-
ments.

Wallace H. Cathcart, Director

CATALOGING REPORT FOR THE YEAR

May 1, 1917 to April 30, 1918.

No. for the yr.No. to date

| | | |
|--|------|----------------|
| New titles catalogued..... | 1869 | 17386 |
| Volumes catalogued (L. C. titles) | 1654 | 13532 |
| Volumes catalogued (not L. C. titles) | 777 | 4559 |
| Total volumes catalogued..... | 2431 | 18091 |
| Pamphlets catalogued (L. C. titles)..... | 279 | 3815 |
| Pamphlets catalogued (not L. C. titles).... | 191 | 3686 |
| Total pamphlets catalogued..... | 470 | 7501 |
| "Sheep-bound" set government documents
checked..... | 0 | 3882 |
| Manuscript volumes catalogued..... | 1 | 8 |
| Newspaper volumes catalogued..... | 0 | 89 |
| Total volumes, pamphlets, etc., catalogued. | 2902 | 29571 |
| Cards prepared for catalogue (L. C. printed) | 5092 | about
65700 |
| Cards prepared for catalogue (typewritten). | 4229 | |
| Total cards prepared for catalogue..... | 9321 | |
| Temporary slips prepared and filed in cata-
logue..... | 8000 | |
| Depository cards delivered to Cleveland
Public Library..... | 1712 | |

TREASURER'S REPORT

WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1918

RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| May 1, 1917—Cash on hand..... | \$ 4,693.15 |
| Subscriptions, May 1, 1917 to April 30, 1918..... | 6,635.00 |
| Special Contributions..... | 11,223.67 |
| Income from Endowment Fund..... | 5,700.50 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts..... | 18.40 |
| Hodge Fund..... | 1,341.02 |
| Interest on Deposits to April 30, 1918..... | 72.91 |
| | <u>\$29,684.65</u> |

DISBURSEMENTS

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| May 1, 1917 to April 30, 1918..... | 26,199.69 |
| May 1st, 1918—Balance on hand..... | \$3,484.96 |

DISBURSEMENTS

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Subscriptions to Periodicals..... | 61.46 |
| Printing and Stationary..... | 1,504.83 |
| Salaries..... | 9,492.94 |
| General Expense..... | 1,378.93 |
| Light and Heat..... | 658.18 |
| Traveling..... | 329.25 |
| Building Account..... | 4,065.45 |
| Additions to collections..... | 8,208.74 |
| Hodge Fund..... | 499.91 |
| | <u>\$26,199.69</u> |

SUBSCRIPTIONS

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 9 at \$250.00 each..... | 2,250.00 |
| 5 at 150.00 each..... | 750.00 |
| 5 at 100.00 each..... | 500.00 |
| 6 at 50.00 each..... | 300.00 |
| 5 at 25.00 each..... | 125.00 |
| 271 at 10.00 each..... | 2,710.00 |
| | <u>\$ 6,635.00</u> |

Special contributors during the year were Messrs.

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| C. W. Bingham | Ralph King | F. F. Prentiss |
| J. D. Cox | Wm. G. Mather | Geo. B. Shepard |
| Estate of O. J. Hodge | D. Z. Norton | J. H. Wade |
| | Wm. P. Palmer | |

A. S. Chisholm, Treasurer

Publication No. 99

Collections

of

**The Western Reserve Historical
Society**

**Organized 1867
Incorporated 1892**



1918

Publication No. 99

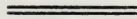
COLLECTIONS

THE WESTERN RESERVE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Issued December 1918

The Movement for Peace Without a Victory
During the Civil War

ELBERT J. BENTON



CLEVELAND, OHIO

1918

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The Western Reserve Historical Society

OFFICERS FOR 1918-1919

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Vice President and Director

WALLACE H. CATHCART

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Publication Committee

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E. J. BENTON

H. E. BOURNE

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

STATE OF OHIO

These Articles of Incorporation of THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Witnesseth, That we, the undersigned, all of whom are citizens of the State of Ohio, desiring to form a corporation not for profit, under the general corporation laws of said State, do hereby certify:

FIRST. The name of said corporation shall be The Western Reserve Historical Society.

SECOND. Said corporation shall be located and its principle business transacted at the City of Cleveland, in Cuyahoga Conuty Ohio.

THIRD. The purpose for which said corporation is formed is not profit, but is to discover, collect and preserve whatever relates to the history, biography, genealogy, and antiquities of Ohio and the West; and of the people dwelling therein, including the physical history and condition of the State; to maintain a museum and library, and to extend knowledge upon the subjects mentioned, by literary meetings, by publication and by other proper means.

In Witness Whereof, We have hereunto set our hands, this seventh day of March, A. D., 1892.

Henry C. Ranney
D. W. Manchester
Amos Townsend,
William Bingham,

Charles C. Baldwin
David C. Baldwin
Percy W. Rice,
Jas. D. Cleveland,

A. T. Brewer

THE MOVEMENT FOR PEACE WITHOUT A VICTORY DURING THE CIVIL WAR

CONTENDING FORCES IN THE CIVIL WAR.

It is a common practice for writers on the Civil War to reduce the opposing forces to two, the South and the North, or Confederates and Unionists, and likewise to simplify the issues by condensing them to one word, slavery. There is enough truth in this view to satisfy many persons. It has the merit that it may be easily remembered. That it breeds superficiality and inaccuracy of thought does not seem to trouble the authors. It fails wholly to explain the motives and ideals of the hundreds of thousands in the South who supported the Confederate cause and of an astonishingly large number in the North who opposed the Unionists in the prosecution of the War without, in either case, having any direct interest in preserving slavery. It also falls short as an adequate presentation of the complex forces arrayed against the Government throughout the Civil War.

It is necessary for the purpose of this paper to recall that the Civil War was preceded by the secession of seven states, extending from South Carolina southward and westward along the coast, during the winter of 1860-1861. They were the states which were dominated by the cotton planters.¹

Complex motives were present in their act of secession, but the decisive one was the determination that property in slaves should have access to the federal territories, and have the same federal protection as that extended to other forms of personal property in the territories. The gauntlet had been thrown down by the Breckinridge Democrats in the campaign of 1860, and accepted by the Republicans. The election of Lincoln on a platform which declared "that the

¹ There were somewhere near 1,600,000 white families in the South. Less than 400,000 of these held slaves. Three fourths of the southern families held no slaves and had no direct interest in its continuation. About 10,000 families owned the great slave plantations and constituted the ruling class of the slave states. *The South in the Building of the Nation*, Vol.V, p. 117.

normal condition of all the territory is that of freedom" and denied "the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States" effectually blocked the cotton planters' program. Lincoln's firm refusal during the winter of 1860-1861 to assent to a compromise in Congress upon the territorial issue strengthened the conclusion which the secessionists had reached that the Union as it was developing was no longer tolerable.²

Lincoln's inflexible attitude represented for the most part the views of the western element of the Republican party. Horace Greeley, an eastern Republican of great influence, editor of the New York Tribune, placed his popular journal on record for peace, virtually on the Confederate terms. "If the cotton States", he said, "shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless. . . . Whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a republic, whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets." "If the cotton States generally unite with her (South Carolina) in seceding, we insist that they cannot be prevented, and that the attempt must not be made. Five millions of people, more than half of them the dominant race, of whom at least a half a million are able and willing to shoulder muskets, can never be subdued while fighting around and over their own hearth-stones".³ It is true that Greeley soon recanted his doctrine of peace-at-any-price, but not before incalculable encouragement had been given to disunion.⁴

² Lincoln took the position that the compromises proposed in Congress would not terminate the struggle between the North and the South over the territories; that the only compromise of any value was a federal prohibition against acquiring any more territory. Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, January 11, 1861, Vol. VI, p. 93.

³ *The New York Tribune*, Nov. 9, 16, 19, 30, 1860. ✓

⁴ *Ibid.* January 14 and February 2, 1861.

He continued throughout the war to seek peace otherwise than by the direct one of overcoming Southern resistance by military force. A negotiated peace, one without victory, became his highway to reunion. Greeley by no means stood alone among the Republicans. His was not an isolated, individual view. The thought of the loss of the southern markets paralyzed the combative organs of many an eastern merchant. Those whose sense of nationalism was slightly developed raised the white flag before secession. Henry Ward Beecher declared that he did not care if the southern states seceded, and that it would be an advantage for them to go off.⁵ What William Lloyd Garrison and other extreme Abolitionists were saying interested relatively few. They were outside the pale. But within the innermost circles of the Republican fold, the self-appointed leader, the President-elect's choice for the premiership of the Cabinet, William H. Seward, was commonly classed with those who stood ready to renounce the Territorial clause of the Republican platform and to compromise with the cotton planters in order to maintain peace.⁶

What the historian has to record about the beginnings of the Civil War is that the rival policies of Radical Democrats and Radical Republicans precipitated the conflict. The decisive or aggressive forces before the fall of Fort Sumter were the cotton planters and the western farmers who had accepted Breckinridge and Lincoln respectively as their leaders. The real issue between them was to determine whether planters with black slave gangs or the sons of small farmers and artisans should have the homesteads of the prairie west. Both saw that the two labor systems were mutually exclusive. They had not been able to dwell in peace in Kansas. The tragic history of the poor whites of the South had established their in-

⁵ *Address at Boston*, Nov. 27, 1860. *New York Tribune*, Nov. 29, 30, 1860. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. III, pp. 139, 141.

⁶ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. III, p. 288, especially notes 2 and 3.

compatibility beyond a peradventure. And yet these forces which knew what they wanted and counted not too dear the cost constituted a clear minority of the nation. The great majority, with minds unmade, with hopes centered on compromises, ready for peace at almost any price, waited through the fateful passing months for a harmony of leadership which came too late. The Radical elements rallied around their leaders without hesitation as defenders of holy causes and stamped their opponents as aggressors. It is one of the tragedies of human history that so far both views could describe accurately a situation.¹ The economic system which each represented called for new lands. Wild land was the raw material of the old agriculture. If the cotton planters were the more impatient and the more bitter it was because their institution was the more wasteful of land and their individual capital at stake, if land failed them, greater than that of the small farmers. Humanitarianism entered into both agricultural movements, but differed fundamentally in kind. The planters regarded the slaves, members of a larger family circle, as a race in its childhood which needed the discipline and protection of the slave system; and there their thinking stopped. The Republican farmers and merchants and artisans were anti-slavery in every sense, but not stimulated by any strong radical agitation such as had organized the Abolition movement of New England and other parts of the North.⁷

The fall of Fort Sumter and the call of President Lincoln for the state militia brought tumbling into the arena, as it were, two new forces. A middle group of slave states, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Arkansas, seceded and joined the Confederacy. And why? Slavery in their limits was decadent. There was no dominant, aggressive cotton planter or other

⁷ A. C. Cole, *President Lincoln and the Illinois Radical Republicans*, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 4, March 1918, p. 417.

similar class planning to provide for the future of a basic labor system. A free labor system had, in fact, come strongly into conflict with the old slave system. But the idea that the federal union was a creature or servant of sovereign states, that the states could not be coerced, was a political fetish. The growing nationalism genuinely alarmed the persons who made States' Rights the basis of their political philosophy. Their interpretation of American colonial history, their reading of all history, although crude and inaccurate like that of their generation, convinced them that the beginning of all tyranny was in centralization, the security of human liberty in America, and for that matter in the World, bound up in maintaining unimpaired States' Rights. There is no use of quarrelling with the philosophy of another generation because we have drifted far from it. It is enough to take account of the fact. The doctrine that a state might not be coerced was the tenet which guided the middle group of slave states into secession. They would protest that their act came not because they loved the old Union less than their neighbors, but because they feared a new and uncovenanted union which threatened to take its place. States' Rights which was the main chord with the middle group of slave states was at the same time a minor one with the cotton group. Conversely, elements of the population of the middle group were directly interested in the perpetuation of slavery, or terrified at the idea of vast numbers of negro freedmen in their midst, and so joined their influence with the dominant one to resist what all feared in common, a new union and a new era. The central fact is that Lincoln's call for the state militia to enforce the federal laws and maintain the federal institutions was answered by the withdrawal of four states and the wavering of a group of border slave states—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri. One of them Kentucky, proclaimed its neutrality, and actually maintained the

novel status until neutrality was violated in September, 1861, by a Confederate army.⁸

In the end the border states remained in the Union, or perhaps in the case of Maryland the fact is more accurately expressed when it is said that it was restrained from secession. A large element of the population of the border states found ways of opposing the Administration in the prosecution of the War. One of the most common was to give their adhesion to another force arrayed in the Civil War. This was the movement of the Peace Democrats. The thought of this element like the dominant one in the middle group was glued to the States' Rights political philosophy. Each individual thought of himself as a defender of all that was institutionally precious. That he was sacrificing himself or his country to a passing theory of government he could not see. To him there were no Mt. Pisgahs from which to survey the passing ages. That he was an indirect ally of a slave oligarchy troubled him about as little as the alliances of the democracies of Europe with Russia in 1914 troubled them. All through the three slave sections poor white farmers whose economic life had been narrowed to the lowest standards by competition with the large slave gangs sprang to the aid of the cotton planters and the doctrinaires of States' Rights. The alliance was complete and whole hearted because it was based on long generations of common thought and persistent teaching in an isolated environment. The poor whites, too, feared the freeing of the negroes. They imagined, as others without number before them had imagined, a state of anarchy and violence and hard times in the South if by any chance the discipline of slavery were relaxed. A rough sketch of this kind does not do justice to the complex motives and fears of the Confederates. It only pretends to outline some main forces.

⁸ There is no story more strikingly illustrative of Lincoln's political sagacity and patience than his treatment of Kentucky at this crisis. See Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. III, pp. 391-2.

There were others, such as run with the current of human history born of greed, and selfishness, and bitter memories, but they are of no great moment now. The significant fact is that the several elements of population which the Confederate statesmen cemented together thought of their Cause as one of defense.

IN 1861 President Lincoln rallied two organized political forces in support of his policy of forcible reunion. These were (1) the Republican Party as a whole and (2) a portion of the Democratic Party, the War Democrats. The Republican Party took the name Union Party in order to make agreeable the new alliance, though the camouflage only partially succeeded in its purposes. The War Democrats generally maintained their party organization and resisted the temptations of fusion. They supported the policy of forcible reunion; they had no sympathy with the Administration's ideas of policies toward slavery,—either the pledges with regard to the territories, or slavery in the States. They were uncharitable critics of the measures which the Government deemed necessary to accomplish its purpose. But they yielded an invaluable support to the main purpose of the Administration, which was re-union.

There were also the Abolitionists; the followers of Garrison and Wendell Phillips. To the Southerner, involved as he was socially and financially in a race tangle, they were hideous monsters. Did they not call his ownership of slave property a crime? And offer the remedy of confiscation? It is a fact that the Abolitionists took no account of history, and social systems, and racial progress, or elemental justice. To be sure, with most of them the end was to be achieved by the ballot. John Brown's race-war was a movement by itself. The South, however made the fundamental mistake of identifying John Brown's movement with Abolition, and both with that of the Republicans. Men who feared a social revolution should undoubtedly have a measure of consideration from History if

they could not draw clear distinctions. In reality, those who thought as did Lincoln were leaving the slavery of the States for the States to meet. They committed themselves, when once the War began, to the primary task of preserving democracy from the perversion with which secession threatened it. They had no intention of making the fate of slavery an issue of the Civil War. The Abolitionists, whether of the extreme variety who could not find satisfaction in one of the other parties, or more moderate, supported the President in the prosecution of the War. They did so, however, with the hope that Lincoln's policy would overtake their's and lead to the destruction of slavery. Lincoln's constructive policy with regard to slavery, announced in his message to Congress in December, 1861, combining a policy of state emancipation with national compensation to the owners and colonization of the freedmen, did not satisfy the Abolitionists.

A paper which enumerated the supporters of the United States at the North during the civil war and ignored the large population in the middle group of slave states, especially of western Virginia and eastern Tennessee, that fought in the Union armies would neglect an important factor of the Civil War. The mountain whites of the South were too much isolated to fear the freedmen, had been too long in conflict with the State authorities to be conscious of any attachment to States' Rights. Living the simple democratic life of the frontier they were instinctively out of sympathy with the slave oligarchies. It will suffice to think of this force as positively, and whole heartedly, Unionists. Its contribution to the War measured in percentages of volunteers to the total population exceeded that from the northern states.

THE PEACE DEMOCRATS

The menace of national disruption through the efforts of the seceding states was only one form of at-

tack on democratic government during the Civil War. The Government of the United States had to combat other forces, more insidious because less open and above board, and therefore really more dangerous ones. There was a danger of foreign intermeddling during the early months of the War. The Governments of England and France pressed the United States to accept mediation in order to find a basis for a negotiated peace. But all knew well that a negotiated peace meant a permanent disruption of the Union. The foreign powers even considered armed intervention. The Pope exhorted the Archbishops of New York and New Orleans to use their influences with their respective communities for peace; encouraged by the response of Jefferson Davis, the correspondence led the Pope to make the charge that the Government at Washington was to blame for the continuation of the War.⁹

Neither of the foreign powers exhibited any real appreciation of the great moral or social or political principles involved in the titanic American struggle. Their mistake may well be passed over. The particular Governments of Europe of that day had no sympathy with democracy as it was being worked out in America. And as for moral or social issues, it is open to question whether even the American people realized these at the time. Certain it is that to Lincoln in 1861 the issue was the simple one of restoration of the union.¹⁰

The most dangerous opposition which a cause may have is one which conceals itself, perhaps unconsciously, behind a pacifist group, or any particular group, and makes use of one or the other for partisan ends. In

⁹ *Letter of Pope Pius IX to Archbishop Hughes*, October 18, 1862, published in the *Richmond Daily Whig*, August 7, 1863. Other letters of the correspondence in Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, Vol. II, pp. 571, 603.

¹⁰ Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. VIII, p. 16. *Letter to Greeley*, August 22, 1862. "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union".

other words the party which takes advantage of a national crisis in order to achieve a success it could not win from a democratic people at the polls is the greatest menace a free people has to face. Such a party deliberately flouts democracy. It attempts to convert a democracy into an autocracy. The history of the Civil War was complicated by the persistent activities of just such a party.

A portion of the northern Democracy, especially large in the Old Northwest, openly opposed the prosecution of the War by the Administration.¹¹ Because of the fact that the movement demanded that the Administration stop the War, and that the membership was drawn from the old Democratic party the name the Peace Democratic Party has been given it. Breckinridge received 279,211 votes in the free states in 1860; this element was a natural nucleus of a northern party of opposition. The opponents sneeringly called its members "copperheads", or identified them with the Confederates by the common appellation of "butternuts".¹²

Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York, and his brother, Benjamin Wood, publisher of the New York News and a member of Congress, made themselves spokesmen of a faction of Peace Democrats in the East. Fernando Wood proposed at the beginning of the Civil War that New York City proclaim itself a free city, a sort of a Lübeck or Hamburg in the federal union, and retain its trade both with the United States and the Con-

¹¹ The South, too, had its Peace Parties. At one time in North Carolina and Georgia the activities of such an opposition gave the Confederate authorities considerable embarrassment. The movement seems to have been the work of a dormant Union element stirred to life by local leadership. See the *Richmond Daily Whig*, February 19, 1864, for a brief account.

¹² A satirical poem published in Philadelphia, 1863, worked out in seemingly endless verses the theme of contempt of the Unionists for the Copperheads.

"Ye 'sneak' is a sly bird. Ye rattle-sneak, indeed, hath some chivalry, if it is in his tail; but ye Sneak/yclepid 'Copperhead' hath none." etc.

There was an appropriateness in the term "butternut" for both the confederates and the Peace Democrats. Both drew their strength in numbers from the poorer whites of the rural South and West who by force of circumstances wore homespun clothes dyed from the butternut.

federacy. "Thus", according to the Mayor's vision, "We could live free from taxes, and have cheap goods nearly duty free."¹³ But the chief elements of the Peace Democrats were located in the Ohio valley, decreasing in density of numbers as the distance northward from the Ohio river increased. The evidence connects the class with the immigration stream which had moved like an overflowing flood from the South to the north side of the Ohio River. The area in Ohio comprehended by a line drawn through Dayton, Hamilton, Chillicothe and Cincinnati, the river counties of Indiana and Illinois, and their neighbors, were the strongholds of the party.¹⁴

The rank and file of the Copperheads were the smaller farmers and poor artisans of the region, if measured by accumulated wealth. They like the poor whites of the South saw another vision from that which the followers of Lincoln saw. The latter saw the expansion of their agricultural system across the fertile prairies of the plains balked by expanding slave areas. The former saw a black horde of freedmen, a veritable black peril, sweeping from the southland across the Ohio into the free farming regions of the Ohio Valley.¹⁵ All those social forces which count with a people—environment, tradition, decades of teaching from platform, press, and pulpit—were bearing their natural fruit in the Ohio Valley. It is the tragedy of this Conflict in the Northwest that the votaries of both sides thought of their causes as defensive ones, and from the point of view of each it was so.

¹³ McPherson, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 42.

¹⁴ *The Census of 1860* showed that about six per cent of the white population of Ohio were immigrants or the descendants of immigrants from slave states, chiefly from Virginia and Kentucky; about twelve per cent of Indiana, chiefly from Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee; about ten per cent of Illinois, chiefly from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina; about 25 per cent of Missouri, chiefly from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina.

¹⁵ The Democratic newspapers kept the menace of the freedmen always before their readers. *The Columbus Crisis*, October 29, 1862, contains a typical article.

There was a close analogy between the line of reasoning of the Copperheads and their poor white kinsfolk of the South. Without doubt, if the Copperheads had had the balance of power in the Northwest as they had in Kentucky they would have made the whole section neutral, or, if they had been in the majority as in North Carolina they would have swung the Northwest into an alliance with the Confederacy. It was inevitable that they should number among themselves some that were the conscious agents of the South and some whom the loss of peace-time markets during the early stages of the War and the consequent hard times drove into the opposition party. The newspapers of the river towns stressed the losses from the cessation of the old trade. The Cincinnati Gazette estimated at the close of 1861 that the loss of the southern market for bacon alone meant a loss of \$6,000,000 to the farmers of the Northwest.¹⁶ To those who were more concerned about the recovery of the old river commerce and plantation markets than about rival labor systems or social structures, peace-at-any-price had a commercial background. Once the South seceded and set up a barrier to river commerce, the event worked two ways. To the Peace Democrats of the Ohio Valley it stimulated a movement for peace in order to have back old markets on the basis of restoration; to the Unionists it stimulated a war of conquest. The varying points of view arose from the respective doctrines of States' Rights and Nationalism.

The Peace Democrats of the Northwest had an active, cunning leadership. The names of only a few have survived the oblivion which history allows to those who grievously err. The high priest of the faction was Clement L. Vallandigham. He was of Huguenot and Scotch descent; the scion of families early transplanted to Virginia, and thence to Ohio; Presbyterian and Democrat by forces as immutable in such minds as any laws

¹⁶ See, for example, the *Knoxville Daily Register*, June 12, 1862.

of nature. He inherited a fixed philosophy of life. His was one of those minds that instinctively fear innovation, whose eyes were on the past, whose faith clung to established institutions and time worn customs. The dogmatic assurance and inflexible purpose of his kind were entrenched in a cold and selfish personality. As a man he stood apart from others, set off by an arrogance and egoism, which would neither take council of man or God.¹⁷ And yet somehow he possessed a

¹⁷ The following letter from the brother of Vallandigham's mother, besides giving an interesting glimpse of Maryland life in the 30's, reveals much of the heritage of Vallandigham. The original is in the Vallandigham Collection of manuscripts, letters, etc. in the Library of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

Parsonage, Trinity Parish Charles Co. Maryland
Saturday night Nov. 17, 1832.

Rev: C. Vallandigham.

Dear brother. The period of life & the grade in the Ministry of reconciliation to which I have attained, intimate, nay urge, the propriety of surrendering my juvenile enmities. The reflection that I had alienated those toward whom nature duty and interest bound me to cherish pacific feelings, has incurred many a pang of regret. I am, therefore, constrained to make this overture to you. You are excusable for not having superceded its necessity—as you have not known the particular place of my present residence. You will, doubtless, respond in a spirit similar to that in which I write*****It will very probably, interest you to become acquainted with my present condition and future prospects. I was elected Rector of this Parish, upon the 3^d of June 1830—but was prevented by the extreme sickness of my eldest, (then only) child from taking charge of it until the 21. of the ensuing August. This parish is twenty miles in length & its medium width is nine miles & contains over two hundred families. In it are two brick Churches, erected some seventy or eighty years since, which have been rebuilt. They are situated twelve miles from each other. The Glebe, upon which I live, contains 300 acres, two-thirds of which are enclosed, and upon it are erected a Parsonage, Negro house, Corn & Meat house, Tobacco barn et ceaterea. The Parsonage, a brick house of eighty years erection, is a substantial, neat house. It is five miles distant from my Parish Church & seven from my Chapel. The Vestry employed me the first year for \$435 and the use of the Glebe, worth \$200. The second year they gave me 500\$ & use &c. The present year they will give me \$600 & use &c. My perquisites are worth 200\$ per annum—so that my present salary is 1000\$. Since resident here I have baptised 250 infants, married twenty-seven couples (for which I have rec^d \$230—some of them were slaves, & preached thirty-six funerals, (for which I have rec^d 270\$) During last Convention year namely from May 31st to May '32, I buried 81 persons. Sickness & Mortality always great was unusually so last year. I rode down two horses during our Autumnal sickness & in Jan^y & February the Pleurasy prevailed to an alarming extent. My own general health has improved since I removed hither. My breast affection has partially, if not totally subsided. In last May & June I passed thr'o a severe acclimating—having sixteen Agues and fevers in succession: Since when I have enjoyed excellent health. My good lady has not been one day unwell since we removed hither. Blessed be God, health has been extraordinary thr'o my parish this year. W have escaped the autumnal fevers. This phenomanon is attributable, so far as human means are concerned, to the uncommon prudence in dieting & cloathing, which people here practised as a preventive of the Cholera.

grace of bearing and powers of address which captivated those who came within his sphere. College education, legal studies and practice in the courts, and editorial experience on the Dayton Empire failed to liberalize his ways of thinking, but from their training he developed a power of expression, the eloquence of the political platform, in which few of his generation surpassed him.

In 1857 Vallandigham entered Congress. The Civil War found him among those who first sought to mediate between the forces in the Union which were struggling with fixed purposes, and, failing in efforts at compromise, made themselves the "wilful obstructionists" of the time. But the fact that the group threw themselves against the forces which were struggling in Congress and out with fixed purposes does not mean to im-

That fearful complaint reached Port Tobacco, our County town, yet we have been mercifully spared. There have been only fifteen cases, all however have been fatal. I have been advised of its prevalence in Cincinnati.***There are some differences between Penn* (and indeed the whole North) and Maryland, to the advantage of the latter. There is an intelligence, a nobleness of spirit & a sentimental delicacy found in our Country Parishes here which are not prevalent in the North. The existence of slavery furnishes time to the rich to cultivate their minds & to cherish fine feelings. It deepens the divisional lines between the heart & the extremities of Society. It precludes associations with the lowest class which are calculated, eminently so, to inspire those of the higher class with mean opinions of themselves & to arrest them in the noble march of honorable ambition. To descend to all the menial offices of a domestic, must tend to degrade a classical youth in his own estimation & to check his noble aspirations after dignified, hallowed manhood. How it must subvert his idea of meritorious distinction, to behold the greasy cook & the sooty shoe-black seated around the family board with himself? While Society moves it must have extremities, as while a man walks, he must have legs, as, therefore, there must be servitude. I cannot conceive of any species of it so suitable to the general wants particular & lasting comfort of society, as slavery is. The bond & the hired servant may one day become a master & an employer. This, each holds in prospect, which unfits him for faithful service. Will he cherish the appropriate feelings & discharge the indispensable duties of his rank, when he beholds himself, through the short vista of a few years, clad with all the prerogatives of authority? Will he reverence him, from whom he considers himself nothing different, except in a temporary degradation? Will he cherish an obedient spirit toward him whom he regards as dressed in the brief authority of a few years—Submission, reverence & obedience to his master, & attachment to his person & regard for his interest (all indispensable in every servant) animate the bosom of the slave. They are but seldom found in bond or hired servants. The expectation of future promotion, which their temporary servitude allows them to entertain, inflate their vanity, & therefore, extinguish their submissive spirit & produce discontent. It is an argument of inconsiderable force for the perpetual obligation of matrimony, that it reconciles the contracting parties to many inconveniences which necessarily grow out of that state—so, interminable servitude adapts its subject to his condition. But—enough—I am now

ply that their movement was aimless. It was the aggressiveness of the Peace Democrats which made their movement the potent force and the menace which it was. The public policy of Vallandigham and his followers was based on a theory of the economic sectionalism of the United States.

"Sir, we of the Northwest", he exclaimed in Congress during the debates over compromise, "have a deeper interest in the preservation of this government in its present form than any other section of the Union. Hemmed in, isolated, cut off from the seaboard upon every side; a thousand miles and more from the mouth of the Mississippi, the free navigation of which under the law of nations we demand, and will have at every cost; with nothing else but our great inland seas, the

employed in collecting & arranging materials for the Latin controversy, which will embrace all the points in dissimilarity in doctrine & practice between the R. Catholics & Protestants—In a recent sermon I encountered & combatted & (without vanity may say) confuted the Dogma of Purgatory—Of brother Robert I hear nothing. Were he to duly revolve my circumstances at the time I opposed him, he would promptly forgive any extravagance of which I might possibly have been guilty. The last letter I rec^d from him, he very uncharitably insinuated that I had been guilty of dishonesty toward John Gillespie! Credat Judeus Apello—non ego—

My family now consists of M^r Laird, Claudius Horace Binney, John Henry, & a daughter born the 28th Ultimo, who is not yet baptised, therefore anonymous. Let me know if our Estate at Racoon has been finally settled & what yet remains for me. I le^t a Note upon M^r Whitacre calling for 6\$, with M^r George Graham. I wrote to him respecting it but have not rec^d an answer. Ask him of it. Let me know of yourselves & little ones. M^r L. joins me in expressions of affectionate regards for you all. God bless you all.

Francis H. L. Laird - -

My address is Rev. F. H. L. Laird Rector of Trinity Parish (Charles Co.) Charlotte Hall P. Office St. Marys Co. Maryland. Be particular to use this direction. Please write soon. P. S. A few weeks since I saw your cousin & my particular friend M^r Thomas Beden of Prince George's Co. He is an old but lively bachelor—He is now in the attendance upon the races at Port Tobacco.

Upon Monday I shall be engaged & tuesday is our mail day—therefore I write tonight. Next tuesday, I shall, God willing, marry a lady worth 30,000\$ to a brother Parson. The highest marriage fee which I have rec^d is 25\$ in gold & the greatest for a funeral \$50. Ten is the common charge for each.

I have not time to review this hastily written letter—Excuse its inaccuracies. Charlotte Hall M^d

Affectionately y^rs &c.

Nov^r 20

To the Rev. Clement Vallandigham
Pastor of the Pre^r Church
New Lisbon
Columbiana Co.
Ohio.

lakes—and their outlet, too, through a foreign country—what is to be our destiny? Sir, we have fifteen hundred miles of southern frontier, and but a little narrow strip of eighty miles or less from Virginia to Lake Erie bounding us upon the east. Ohio is the isthmus that connects the South with the British possessions, and the East with the West. The Rocky Mountains separate us from the Pacific. Where is to be our outlet? What are we to do when we have broken up and destroyed this Government? We are seven States now, and a population of nine millions. We have an empire equal in area to the third of all Europe, and we do not mean to be a dependency or province either of the east or of the South; nor yet an interior or second-rate power upon this continent; and if we cannot secure a maritime boundary upon other terms, we will cleave our way to the sea-coast with the sword. A nation of warriors we may be; a tribe of shepherds never”.¹⁸ Such was the theory of the Peace Democrats: the Northwest was bound in economic interests more closely to the South by river highways than to the Atlantic coast. It was a theory which had described a condition a decade earlier, but the construction of trans-Alleghany railroad connections and a network of lines throughout the Northwest had altered the entire economic structure of the United States.¹⁹ Of these changes the leaders of the Ohio Valley Democracy were apparently oblivious.

On February 20, 1861, Vallandigham attempted to formulate a congressional policy of federal reconstruction which would peaceably win back the allegiance of the seceding states, satisfy enough in the North, and have the added merit of establishing his doctrine of economic sectionalism. The plan was to recognize in an amended constitution four sections—a North, a West, a Pacific,

¹⁸ *Congressional Globe*, Part I, 2nd sess. 36th Cong., 1860-61, December 10, 1860, p. 38; *Vallandigham's Speeches*, p. 258.

¹⁹ See the article by Frederic L. Paxson, *The Railroads of the Old Northwest before the Civil War*, *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, Vol. XVII, Part I, Oct., 1912.

and a South section—and to make the assent of a majority of the Senators of each section requisite for the passage of laws under certain circumstances. Likewise the Electoral College was to be reconstructed and a majority of the electors in each of the four sections be necessary for the choice of President and Vice-President. Secession was to be recognized as a legal right, but regulated, as it were, for the act would be valid only when it had the sanction of the legislatures of the states constituting the section of the seceding state. The scheme was Calhoun's concurrent majority rule in a new form.²⁰

There is no evidence that the Vallandigham project of federal reconstruction as a peace-bait or as a political program received more than a passing consideration in Congress. Unsuccessful in his own leadership, unable to accept that of another, Vallandigham fell back in Congress on the natural recourse of his type. His record until his retirement in 1863, when he was defeated for re-election, was uniformly that of an obstructionist.²¹ And yet he and his associates undoubtedly sincerely thought of themselves as the only real Unionists and of Confederates and Republicans and War Democrats as disunionists. But the Union of which they thought was one the Democratic Party had presided over for nearly a generation; it was the union of compromises with slavery, of weak nationalism, and of strong States' Rights. The Constitution as it is and the Union as it was formed the watchwords of the Peace Democrats. The fact that the old Union could not be restored, that neither of the radical forces—the cotton planters, the western Republicans, nor the Abolitionists anywhere—would ever accept such a restoration, ex-

²⁰ *Congressional Globe*, Part 1, 2nd sess. 36th Cong. 1860-61, p. 794; *Speeches, Arguments, Addresses, and Letters of Clement L. Vallandigham*, p. 298.

²¹ The Unionist made use of this record for campaign purposes. The following pamphlets are typical: William A. Cook, *The Peace Democracy*, 1863; *Complicity of Democracy with Treason*, by the Ohio State Journal, 1865; *The New Hampshire Peace Democracy*, n. d.

cept by force, was beyond the ken of the Peace Democrats. And that other great fact of democratic government, that a majority must rule and the minority bow when the decision has been made by the constitutional authorities or Republican government become the weakling which autocrats say it is the Peace Democrats ignored. They held to their peace illusions, and persisted in their assumption that the Confederates could be brought back into the Union by negotiations until the end. In dealing with them it is impossible to be patriotic and charitable at the same time. It is too apparent that they saw back of the impending struggle an opportunity to force on the American people a partisan theory of government. That they believed in their doctrines passionately, even piously, only convicts them of bigotry. Like the Bolsheviki of Russia in 1917 and 1918 the Peace Democrats were willing to force the acceptance of a partisan policy, cost what it might.

To the Peace Democrats the Abolitionists of New England were a peculiar sort of *bete noir*. It is true, the Abolitionists disturbed the settled order of historical compromises over slavery, and assailed the doctrine of States' Rights. But Confederates and Peace Democrats alike greatly erred in exaggerating the numbers and influence of the Abolitionists, and in identifying their policy with the homestead policy of the Republicans. They more grievously erred when they ignored the readiness of the Republicans and the War Democrats to guarantee slavery in the States where it existed from Congressional interference,²² and failed to appreciate the magnanimity of the constructive policy which Lincoln formulated for the future of slavery.²³ The confusion of the Republicans with Abolition in 1861 was perhaps inevitable. There were enough radical Re-

²² A thirteenth amendment put forth with the consent of Republican and Democratic leaders in March, 1861 would have effectually blocked any attack on slavery in a State by Congress.

²³ See *Message to Congress*, December 3, 1861. *Richardson, Messages and Papers*, Vol. VI, p. 44.

publicans like Charles Sumner and John C. Fremont to confuse the most clear headed on the extent to which Abolition had captured the Republican Party. The Peace Democrats undoubtedly believed that the War was one of New England making. They persistently charged that it was a Capitalists' War. And the "Shoddy" work of some wool manufacturers gave them an excuse for the charge.

"Struck by "shoddy", and not by "shells",
And not by shot our brave ones fall;
Greed of gold the story tells,
Drop the mantle and spread the pall.
Out on the vampyres! out on those
Who of our life blood take a fill!
"No meaner "traitor" the nation knows,
Than the greedy ghoul of the shoddy mill!"

So the Copperhead minstrel sang.²⁴ As a challenge to the Administration to clean its stables it would have been a service of high patriotism, as a statement of the causes of the War it was stupidly false, to say the least. The Peace Democrats fitted their doctrine of the cause of the War into their political program. The War was interpreted as a sectional one. As New England business men were forcing a war for markets for wool, shoes, iron, etc. in the Northwest, the section should rise to its own defense. The Peace Democrats gave themselves over to the task of arousing the sectional consciousness of the Northwest. How far they were self-deceived and how far they were unscrupulously fitting a situation to a political program is an insoluble problem. It is probably wiser to give them the benefit if the doubt, admit their sincerity of purpose, and leave the measure of their sanity of judgement and statesmanship to the tender mercies of a charitable posterity.

²⁴ *A Choice Collection of Democratic Poems and Songs*, New York, 1863, p. 28.

There is a great similarity in all the pronouncements of the leaders of the Peace Democracy. Vallandigham spoke and wrote ceaselessly, and supplied his followers with material from which to draw inspiration. Samuel Medary, editor of the Columbus Crisis, conducted a weekly newspaper in the interest of the party. That the Crisis survived the censor or complete suppression for its billingsgate attacks on the Government and misrepresentations of every act is one of the puzzles of the period. The Peace Democrats propagated their doctrines through a host of local newspapers and party conventions. The Cincinnati Enquirer, The Chicago Times, the Indianapolis Sentinel, and the Dayton Empire, to mention only a few of the more conspicuous journals, continuously voiced the sentiments of the faction of the Democratic Party. Wherever the Peace Democrats won control of the organization of the Democratic organization county and district and state conventions were made to pass resolutions which gave expression to the movement. There was no difficulty in finding media of communication between the leaders and the people. In February, 1861, the Cincinnati Enquirer took its stand. "If Lincoln's Administration wants money, it must compromise. . . . Coercion is disunion, now and forever". The Fairfield (Ohio) county convention rang forth "millions for defense, but not one cent for the coercion of sovereign states".²⁵ When Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers the Ashland Union replied, "Fight your own battles We have only to say to you, gentlemen, this is not our fight; you have followed your own councils; you must do your own fighting. . . . The Administration leaders have succeeded in their unhallowed work of destroying the Government and Union. They have robbed us of our National Union—and shall we (the Democracy)

²⁵ A pamphlet, *Complicity of Democracy with Treason*, published by the Ohio State Journal, 1865, is an interesting compilation of newspaper declarations and local convention resolutions in endorsement of the platform of the Peace Democrats.

give our blood to their service to consecrate the crime? . . . The Democratic newspapers of the country today, refusing longer, in any manner, to pander to the interests of the abolition traitors of the North, will rise in their might and beat back the tide of desolation that threatens the land."

The Coshocton Democrat said; "The North is in direct Rebellion against the Constitution and Laws of the United States! We do not believe Southern Generals ever had any idea of attacking Washington—they desire only to protect their own rights, liberty, and property. If they cannot do it without dispersing the scoundrelly usurpers in that City, they may attempt to take it." The Crisis harped on the gross "criminality of New England measures and New England men in fomenting the sectionalism which has begotten this most unhallowed and barbarous war and destroyed the nation."²⁶ The Old Guard, a monthly magazine, was published in New York to promote the views of the Peace Democrats—devoted, it announced to the principles of 1776 and 1787. "Had Lincoln", it asserts in one of its early numbers, "confined his acts within constitutional limits, and attempted no deed not authorized by that sacred instrument, not only should we have been spared all their bloodshed and debt, but the Union would have been saved".²⁷ The same magazine described the War as one of "Abolition and plunder", conducted by the "besotted tyrants in Washington".²⁸ Samuel Medary made the Crisis describe the "whole atmosphere of Washington City" as "bedimmed with error, mischief, and ideas of a future monarchy".²⁹ The Cincinnati Enquirer again and again referred to King Lincoln and the Revolution he had selfishly led. The Democratic Convention of Huntington County,

²⁶ *The Crisis*, Columbus, August 5, 1863.

²⁷ *The Old Guard*, Vol. I, No. 2. p. 45.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. I p. 23. Vol. II, p. 1.

²⁹ *The Crisis*, April 9, 1862.

Indiana, solemnly resolved "That Tyranny and Cowardice are monsters of the same birth, and now as ever seek to entrench themselves behind the military; and that the keeping of the army lately so wickedly and unconstitutionally raised, and now under command of abolitionists and unscrupulous adventurers, is inconsistent with the liberties of the people, and already presents the frightful proportions of a Military Despotism".

"God save our wretched land,
From Lincoln's traitor band,
From wo and blight;
Make all the people brave,
To shout o'er land and wave,
Arise, our homes to save,
In freedom's might."

All "patriotic families" were asked to sing these words, set to the tune of America, every night.³⁰ It would be better to overlook a great part of the literature of the movement as the work of disordered brains, of perverted imagination, or of opposition of a time when conventional language was more picturesque and less considerate than modern journalism were it not that it formed the material on which a great population was fed and misled. The newspapers of Peace Democrats gave little space to Union achievements and exaggerated Union disasters. The whole nation was represented as "in a state of consternation, and crying for peace, or something that will put a stop to the awful waste of life and property".³¹ The Crisis of July 8, 1863, published an article on "How the Confederates Treat their Enemies", which gave concrete illustrations of the generosity of the South toward the wounded captives. The article was followed by an-

³⁰ *A Choice Collection of Democratic Poems and Songs*, p. 51.

³¹ *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. VII, p. 724; *The Old Guard*, Vol. I, no. 1, p. 1; *The Crisis*, February 11, 1863.

other one headed—"Barbarism and the War"—which charged the Government of the United States with a "terrible systematic ruining and beggaring of hundreds and thousands of innocent, helpless, and unoffending women and children". The silence of a newspaper on the achievements of the Union armies after a critical engagement had been foreshadowed was often made to serve the propaganda of the movement effectively. A collection of democratic poems and songs was published in cheap pamphlet form and widely circulated for the use of the faithful in political clubs and social circles. They were well calculated to break the spirit of a people. There was a monotonous strain throughout the series. Defeat, bloodshed, and woe, senseless and hopeless strife echoed and re-echoed from page to page. A stanza from the "Song of the Sword" as a parody on the "Song of the Shirt" may stand for the series.

"Weary and wounded, and worn,
Wounded, and ready to die,
A soldier they left, all alone and forlorn,
On the field of the battle to lie.
The dead and dying alone,
Could their presence and pity afford
Whilst with a sad and terrible tone,
He sang the song of the sword".

Or this:

"We are coming, Abraham Lincoln,
From mountain, wood, and glen;
We are coming, Abraham Lincoln,
With the ghosts of murdered men.
Yes! we're coming, Abraham Lincoln,
With curses loud and deep,
That will haunt you in your waking,
And disturb you in your sleep."

There's blood upon your garments,
 There's guilt upon your soul;
 For the lust of ruthless soldiers
 You let loose without control;
 Your dark and wicked doings
 A God of mercy sees;
 And the wail of homeless children
 Is heard on every breeze."³²

The remedy for secession and Civil War was most simple in form. "Withdraw your armies, call back your soldiers, and you will have peace", Vallandigham roared from the platforms of the North. The resolutions of a convention in Shelby County, Indiana, are typical of the constructive program of peace Democrats. "That we earnestly recommend a cessation of hostilities for such a period as may be necessary to allow the people of the North and the South to express through a National Convention, their desire for peace, and a maintenance of the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is". It was a line of thought that caught quite a net full, what with pacifists, partisans and paltroons. A cursory reading of southern newspapers would have taught them all the self-deception in the remedy. The South scouted Vallandigham's Northwestern mediation so far as it had reunion as its goal. They naturally encouraged whatever of opposition to the Administration of Lincoln they found in the movement.³³

The Peace Democrats found nothing to praise in the conduct of the War by the United States. To turn the tables and class the Peace Democrats as pro-southern would be inaccurate. Just as the Confederates and

³² *A Choice Collection of Democratic Poems and Songs*, New York, 1863, pp. 5, 13.

³³ See, for example, *The Augusta (Georgia) Daily Constitutionalist*, Jan 27, 1863; March 12, 1863, May 27, 1863, *The Knoxville Daily Register*, July 7, 1863; *The Staunton Spectator*, July 7, 1863. The only part of the South where the newspapers show any interest in reunion along the line Vallandigham was leading is in those portions in close economic bonds with the Northwest, mainly the southern half of the Ohio Valley.

Peace Democrats constantly made the error of identifying Lincoln and the Republican Party with Abolition during the early years of the war, the Republicans and the Abolitionists classed all Democrats with the Peace Democrats, and the latter as one with Confederates. The Peace Democrats sought the defeat of both Unionists and Confederates. A War without victory was vital to them. It was the only manner in which the old Union could be restored. The victory of the South, they clearly saw, meant permanent separation. Such an alternative left the Peace Democrats in a new United States a hopeless minority. A victory of the North they more clearly saw than did others at the time, meant a new Union-centralized, nationalized, with slavery abolished. If the War could be made a stalemate there was a way to make the Councils of the Peace Democracy count in a decisive manner. A patched up peace meant to them a restored Union. The cold clear logic of Vallandigham is unimpeachable.

The Peace Democrats were approximately neutral on slavery. Vallandigham's wife was the daughter of a Maryland planter. He had seen slavery at its best. He imagined the worst which the human imagination could conjure for society with the negroes as freedmen. His friends claim that he believed that slavery would gradually pass with time as the voluntary work of the slave states without any shock to our political system, and that this was the only logical or proper way for it to happen.³⁴ There is again in this position a wisdom of council which if timely offered would have done its author credit. But once that Civil War had begun it made it seem that the gospel of peace, which its author was preaching, was the cloak of indifference to the issues with which cotton planters and anti-slavery people were struggling. Certain it is that neither Vallandigham nor any of the others in his party saw any possibility for good to come from the life and

³⁴ James L. Vallandigham, *Life of Clement L. Vallandigham*.

death struggle between the oligarchic political and social system of the South and the democratic structure of the Northwest in which the whole nation had become involved.

THE SECRET POLITICAL SOCIETIES

The Peace Democrats were not content to depend on the loose and divided organization of the old Democratic party for the promotion of their purpose. The perpetual struggle with the War Democrats in party councils easily turned the Peace Democrats into secret organizations which they fully controlled. There were precedents for the organization of secret oath-bound orders with signs, grips, passwords, and rituals in order to accomplish a political purpose. The Know-Nothing or Native American Party had flourished for a time like a green bay tree on the model of the popular secret orders of the day. Southern Rights Clubs had sprung up from 1852 to 1855 in the South as a reply to the Personal Liberty Acts and the Underground Railway of the North. The Southern Rights Clubs did not rest their case with defensive measures, but they or branches of them like the order of the Lone Star, undertook the Americanization of the neighboring lands around the gulf of Mexico-Cuba, Mexico, and Nicaragua by means of filibustering expeditions. About 1855 some of these secret societies of the South took the name of the Knights of the Golden Circle. The Peace Democrats borrowed the organization, ritual, name and all of the Knights of the Golden Circle for a movement that would have reason enough to resort to the protection of secrecy. Societies were formed in the North in 1861; it was not until 1862 that the spread of the secret societies over the Northwest reached the point where it alarmed the Unionists and stimulated in turn a counter organization of Union

or Loyal Leagues.³⁵ The organizing instincts of the American were never better illustrated in the rival activities of the two movements. The Loyal Leagues were open, public, advertised; The Knights of the Golden Circle or whatever the name, for there were many, were shrouded in the deepest mystery.³⁶ Even the fact of the existence of such associations were denied by the Peace Democrats throughout the early period of the War.³⁷ As government detectives gained entrance into the societies and the evidence which they gathered threatened to become the basis of prosecution of the more radical leaders for treason efforts were made to eliminate the federal agents and other undesirable elements by reorganization under new names, new rituals, and new passwords. In 1863 the prevailing name in the Northwest was the "Order of American Knights", in 1864, the "Sons of Liberty". There was much looseness in the use of names by contemporaries. Those who were not initiates in the secret orders commonly spoke of them as "butternuts" or "Copperheads", and jumbled Peace Democrats and Confederates and secret societies together in one happy family.³⁸

³⁵ The name taken by the organizations varied considerably, the prevailing one in the Northwest through the first two years was the Knights of the Golden Circle. On May 7, 1861, twenty-five citizens of Bombay, N. Y., organized to oppose the War, and took the name Sons of Liberty. See *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. 2, pp. 951-952. Other instances of early organization will be found in the *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. 2, pp. 193-4, 223, 1247-9, 1253-4. See the excellent study of Dr. Mayo Fesler, "*Secret Political Societies in the North during the War*", in *Indiana Magazine of History*, Sept. 1918, p. 183ff.

³⁶ Among the names taken by the secret societies were—"The Mutual Protection Society", "The Circle of Honor", "The Circle", "The Knights of the Mighty Host", "The Corps de Belgique" in Missouri, and the "Peace Organization" in Illinois.

³⁷ *The Crisis*, Columbus, August 13, 1862. *The Crisis* of February 18, 1863 declared that dangerous secret union leagues were being formed, and that the Democratic organizations were open, political bodies.

³⁸ There is a mass of material, chiefly the reports of the Government detectives, in the *Official Records of the Rebellion*. Ben Pittman, Recorder to the Military Commission edited under the title "*The Trials for Treason at Indianapolis*" the Proceedings of the Commission in the trial of the members arrested in 1865, the testimony of the witnesses at the trial, and many documents connected with the history of the associations. Many articles were written in the newspapers

Whatever the name, the societies enlisted as many Peace Democrats as they could induce to pay the small admission fee of \$1.00. They were never able to enlist all their numbers in such organizations. The secret orders were in fact a dual organization—political and military. The one was within the other. The political organization had for its object the political success of the Peace Democracy. In so far the societies were merely Democratic clubs, playing with the rituals and passwords of secret societies. But within the associations was usually a military organization composed of the more radical and violent elements that looked forward to the use of force. By 1863 the societies had been welded into a fairly homogeneous body. There was a Supreme Council of the Order, composed of the Grand Commanders of the States and two delegates from each of the States in which the order existed. The Supreme Council chose the executive officers—the Supreme Commander, a Deputy Supreme Commander, Secretary of State and Treasurer—at an annual meeting on February 22nd. Vollandigham became Supreme Commander in February, 1864. Robert Holloway of Illinois was the Deputy Commander, and Doctor Massey of Columbus, a son-in-law of Samuel Medary of Crisis fame, was Secretary of State. The Supreme Commander was the military as well as the political chief. Each state where the order could gain a footing was organized in turn into a Grand Council of two representatives from each County Temple and one additional representative for each thousand members in the county. The Grand

pretending to expose the orders, and pamphlets and books with the same purpose. All the evidence whether that of alarmists, witnesses or Government detectives must be sifted most carefully. The best contemporary account of the secret societies in the Northwest is the report of the Judge Advocate General, Joseph Holt, to the Secretary of the War on the Secret Associations and Conspiracies against the Government, 1864. The report of the Adjutant General of Indiana for the Civil War, Vol. I, contains much material. Mayo Fessler, "*Secret Political Societies in the North during the War*", *Indiana Magazine of History*, Sept. 1918, and W. D. Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, Vol. I, chs. 27 and 28, are critical accounts of the movement.

Council chose the state executive officers. There were for the state a Grand Commander, a Deputy Grand Commander, a Grand Secretary, and a Grand Treasurer; for each military district a Major General. County or Parent Temples and township lodges carried the organization down to the rank and file. An assembly of delegates from the township lodges formed a parent Temple. The township lodges were the ultimate glory of the Order. The oaths, invocations and charges, signs, signals, and passwords, solemnly recited by the galaxy of mysterious officers must have held the faithful masses entranced. The secrecy which the ritual enjoined satisfied an universal human foible; the "shameful death" and consignment to infamy "while this sublime order shall survive the wrecks of time, and even until the last faithful brother shall have passed from earth to his service in the Temple not made with hands," pronounced in solemn accents, for those who violated the vows of the order, undoubtedly served a purpose in overawing the rustics whom curiosity, or adventure, or doctrines of government, or contemplated treason brought together. The rituals abounded in platitudes of history and religion effective in satisfying an incipient idealism. Meetings for the initiates were held in the woods or in half-lighted barns in out-of-the-way places at night, added to the solemnity of the occasion. But the military organization of the order was, contemporary observers said, the most significant feature and the secret of its strength. A military hierarchy was formed from the Supreme Commander's staff down through those of the Grand Commanders, the District Major Generals, the Brigadier General of the subordinate subdivisions of the districts, the Colonel of the county regiment, and the Captain of the township company.

The order recruited in its membership white men of 18 years of age and upward. It succeeded in establishing Grand Councils in nine or ten of the northern states and scattered temples here and there in the

others. The main strength of the organization was naturally wherever the Peace Democrats abounded. The chief "temples" were at Cincinnati, Dayton and Hamilton in Ohio, Indianapolis and Vincennes in Indiana, at Chicago, Springfield, and Quincy in Illinois, at St. Louis in Missouri, Louisville in Kentucky, and Detroit in Michigan.³⁹ In some counties in Indiana practically all Democrats were enrolled.⁴⁰ Contemporary estimates of the membership, whether by the Government agents or by the officials of the order, are undoubtedly exaggerated. The motives of the individual made him see numbers in large. Some placed the number near a million. Vallandigham claimed an active membership in 1864 of half a million. Joseph Holt, Judge Advocate General of the United States, accepted Vallandigham's claim as near the truth, and added the opinion that 340,000 of them were ready for military service. On the other hand, Thompson, the Confederate Commissioner in Canada placed the number at 170,000 for Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The total in the Northwest would in that case not exceed 225,000. As a matter of fact the local organization was so loose and the membership so shifting and inconstant that contemporary estimates were little more than guesses. A half a million there certainly was not. The total vote for McClellan in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Kentucky was just over 500,000 in 1864; that vote was the combined strength of the greater part of the War Democrats and all the Peace Democrats. It is inconceivable that anything like the whole of the Peace Democrats were enrolled in the secret political societies; much less a number equal to the combination of the two factions of the Democratic Party. The Adjutant General of Ohio reported from the information which the state authorities gathered with some care that

³⁹ *Report of Advocate General, Joseph Holt*, p. 5.

⁴⁰ *The Report of the Adjutant General of Indiana*, Vol. I, p. 303, says this was true of Brown, Huntington, Jackson, Marshall, Orange, Putnam, and Washington counties.

there were from 80,000 to 108,000 in Ohio.⁴¹ The lower number (80,000) represents a little over 40 per cent of Vallandigham's vote for Governor in 1863, or less than one fifth of the voters in the state. The estimate is not unreasonable, but the evidence in its support is not convincing. If one accepts the figure for Ohio, and adds to it similar conservative estimates for the other states where the secret organization existed the result would give a membership of 325,000 in 1864 when the movement was at its height. It is doubtful whether one will ever be able to make a statement more precise than this that there were two or three hundred thousand men in the Northwest banded together in a secret political and military organization hostile to the Federal Government. How far the body was armed and drilled is a matter about which the evidence is even less trustworthy than the estimates of numbers.⁴²

The oaths, rituals, and declarations of principles of the secret societies laid stress on unswerving obedience of the members to the leaders and on the political doctrines of the Peace Democrats. And then they pushed the teachings of the more radical elements of Peace Democracy into fields that party resolutions, platforms, and speeches, being public, dared not touch. The right and duty of resort to force against the Government was freely taught. The old Democracy of Jefferson and Calhoun had set up the States as the final authority in the place the Supreme Court came to occupy when the powers of the Federal Government were in question. Vallandigham's movement in effect set up the assemblies of the Sons of Liberty as the court of final appeal. The ritual of the order spread the doctrine that "whenever the officials, to whom the people

⁴¹ *Report of the Adjutant General of Ohio, 1864*, p. 37.

⁴² Holt, Advocate General, p. 5: *Official Records*, (Series II), Vol. VII, pp. 228, 630, 801; (Series III), Vol. 4, p. 579; Thompson in *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 509, Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. V, p. 318, seems to place the number near 200,000; Fessler, *Indiana Magazine of History*, 1918, p. 230 reaches the conclusion that the number was much less than these figures; he seems to doubt that it ever exceeded 100,000.

have intrusted the powers of the government, shall refuse to administer it in strict accordance with its constitution, and shall assume and exercise power and authority not delegated, it is the inherent right and imperative duty of the people, to resist such officials, and, if need be, expel them by force of arms. Such resistance is not revolution, but is solely the assertion of right". Those who "exercise power not delegated . . . should be regarded and dealt with as usurpers".⁴³ And the Peace Democrats planned to appeal to force to overthrow the Administration when the ballot appeal ran against them.

Both the Peace Democrats and the Secret Orders had a perfectly definite program. It could not have been otherwise. Their leadership was generally identical. They were bent on the overthrow of Abraham Lincoln as a menace to the theory of government which they had set up. To do this it was necessary to defeat the Union armies in the field. The defeat of Union candidates at the polls would follow. The defeat of the armies was essayed by a propaganda to undermine the morale of the soldiers, to discourage enlistment, to encourage desertion and protect the deserters. This was the program from the first days of the Civil War. Each successive War measure of Congress lashed the Copperheads to a greater fury. The Confiscation Act of August, 1861, the abolition of slavery in the territories, 1862, and the draft act and Habeas Corpus act of March 3, 1863, were especially condemned as acts of tyranny. President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863, accepted the issue with the Peace Democrats which they had expected from the beginning, and changed the meaning of the War. The step rallied the anti-slavery forces

⁴³ *Indiana Treason Trials*, p. 297. *Report of the Union Congressional Committee under the title "Copperhead Conspiracy in the Northwest"*, p. 3. *Report of the Special Committee of the House of Representatives of Kentucky on the Case of Joshua F. Bullitt*, Feb. 27, 1865, p. 18ff. *Report of Joseph Holt, Judge Advocate General*, p. 8 ff. *Official Records*, (series II), Vol. VII, p. 289. *Ibid*, (Series III), Vol. VIII, pp. 68-9. *Southern Bivouac*, (New Series), Vol. II, p. 504.

in the nation around a moral issue. It did more. It won the sympathy of foreign people, particularly the British, and silenced all serious thought of foreign intervention. These were distinct assets for the Administration. But there were liabilities as well. The Emancipation Proclamation gave the Peace Democrats an opportunity to stand forth as true prophets. The War was after all what they had said it was—an Abolition War.

“What has caused all our discontent,
Our Union asunder rent,
And is on our destruction bent?
Abolition.”

“Honest old Abe, when the war first began,
Denied abolition was part of his plan;
Honest old Abe has since made a decree,
The war must go on till the slaves are all free.
As both can't be honest, will some one tell how,
If honest Abe then, he is honest Abe now.”

In equally cheap doggerel they appealed to the latent race prejudices of the North. To the air of “John Anderson, My Jo John” their followers were urged to sing:

“Old Abraham, my jolly Abe,
When we were first acquaint,
I thought you were an honest man,
But nothing of a saint;
But since you wore the Spanish cloak,
You love the negro so,
And hate the white man, so you do,
My jolly Abe, my Jo.”⁴⁴

The army was the most vulnerable point in the Administrative agencies in the conduct of the war.

⁴⁴ *A Choice Collection of Democratic Poems and Songs*, pp. 46, 47, 59.

The adjutant general of Indiana reported in January, 1863, that the number of arrests for desertion in the Indianapolis district alone in the month of December had exceeded 2500; that officers sent to arrest men accused of desertion were set on by the local population. After the inauguration of the draft system in the spring of 1863, the Peace Democrats and secret orders centered their activities on its defeat. Local resorts to force became quite common in 1863. A small uprising in Holmes County, Ohio, was quickly put down. The officers who dispersed the would be insurgents saw about fifty, "an ignorant and misguided class who hardly knew what they wanted or why they felt themselves aggrieved."⁴⁵ The draft records in Blackford County, Indiana, were destroyed by a mob. Several draft officers in Indiana and Illinois were set on by mobs; in a few cases the officers were murdered. It became necessary in the Copperhead strongholds to accompany United States officials with armed guards. The authorities that attempted to arrest deserters were attacked by mobs. Disloyal judges supplemented the work of the mobs by discharging the deserters and those who encouraged desertion when brought before them.

It is difficult to take the measure of the acts of violence at this stage. Jefferson Davis thought the Ohio Valley in 1863 the weak place in the enemy's territory. It was his mature judgment that the death of General A. S. Johnston in 1862 was a fatal event for the Confederacy. That with a skillful commander like him "Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri would have been recovered, the Northwest disaffected, and our armies filled with the men of the Southwest, and perhaps of the Northwest also."⁴⁶ The Copperheads boasted that the Northwest was in a state of insurrection. Such a statement was a gross exaggeration, if applied to the whole, not so for certain narrow districts.

⁴⁵ *Official Records*, (Series I), Vol. 23, Part 1 p. 396.

⁴⁶ Jefferson Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, Vol. II, p. 61.

But to discourage and intimidate the Unionists was a part of the propaganda of the Peace Democrats. The evidence of growing disorder in the Northwest alarmed the Unionists. The State authorities attempted to meet the situation by the organization of new militia units for local defense.⁴⁷

The failure of the federal campaign in Virginia in 1862, and the success of the Peace Democrats at the polls in the Northwest in the Fall of 1862, the discouragement of the Unionists and the elation of the Copperheads, produced a dangerous situation. The Governors of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had their hands full, to say the least. The opposition to the War in Indiana blocked every measure in the legislature in 1863 for the support of the War, and even prevented the passage of the usual appropriations for the support of the State government. In Illinois at the same time the lower house of the legislature voiced by resolutions the demand of the Peace Democrats for an armistice and a peace convention.⁴⁸ It is easy after the event to see that the Copperheads had shot their bolt as a political power in the winter of 1862-3; that those who were fighting in the thick of the battle felt doubts and fears of the outcome was inevitable. The correspondence of the Administration from the Northwest described with one accord a dangerous situation.⁴⁹ That President Lincoln shared the alarm is supported by direct testimony and by the growing severity of the repressive measures. "The President tells me", Senator Sumner wrote to his friend Francis Lieber, "that he now fears the fire in the rear—meaning the Democracy, especially at the Northwest—more than our

⁴⁷ Ohio had a force of 40,000 in militia organizations in 1864, and Indiana nearly if not quite as large a body. See *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of Ohio*, 1864, p. 39, and *Operations of the Indiana Legion and Minute Men*, 1863-4, Indianapolis, 1865.

⁴⁸ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 223.

⁴⁹ *Official Records*, (Series II), Vol. VII contains a large mass of reports of agents of the Administration.

military chances." The Senator adds the comment—"These are dark hours. There are senators full of despair,—not I".⁵⁰ This much is certain. By the opening of 1863 the Peace Democrats had captured the entire Democratic organization of the Northwest, and were using it to advance their movement. They had a large part of the membership under instruction in secret societies. And a part of this membership was marshalled in military companies, arming and drilling after a fashion.

THE EXILE OF VALLANDIGHAM

In March, 1863, the President transferred General Ambrose E. Burnside from the command of the Army of the Potomac to that of the Department of the Ohio which comprehended the region of Copperhead strength. Burnside undertook the command in the Northwest at almost precisely the moment that Vallandigham returned to Ohio, his Congressional term at an end. A clash was probably inevitable under the circumstances. Burnside had been humiliated by his terrible defeat at Fredericksburg, and was now determined to retrieve his lost fortunes by success in the western field. Vallandigham had just closed his congressional career with considerable eclat. His speeches toward the close of the session, particularly that of January 14, had been confident, daring, and forceful.⁵¹ He had every reason to believe that his opposition was bearing fruit. A peace through the victory of Union arms seemed very remote, as he wished it to be. The Peace Democrats and such War Democrats as clung to the old organization had together nearly swept the Unionists from power in the Fall elections. Vallandigham's own defeat had been accomplished by the gerrymander. His

⁵⁰ *Letter of January 17, 1863.* See E. L. Pierce *Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Vol. IV, p. 114.

⁵¹ *The Speech of January 14, 1863*, is an exceedingly strong statement of Vallandigham's policy. *Congressional Globe*, Part II, 1862-3, Appendix, p. 52ff.

return to Dayton meant to him the transfer of his field of activities in a winning political contest with the Administration to a more congenial environment than Washington.

General Burnside met the Peace Democrats with an order for the arrest of those committing certain offenses. "The habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy," he added at the end of the list, "will not be allowed in the department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested, with a view to being tried as above stated (that is, as spies and traitors,) or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends."⁵² Vallandigham took the order as a challenge. At Mt. Vernon, May 1, 1863, he delivered two addresses, two of them to overflow audiences. Plain clothes representatives from the military authorities were present to report Vallandigham's words. He described the War as "wicked and cruel," "not being waged for the preservation of the Union," but "for the purpose of crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism," as "a war for the freedom of the blacks and the enslavement of the whites," needlessly continued. The people were urged to inform "the minions of usurped power that they will not submit to such restrictions on their liberties" as prescribed in Burnside's order, which was described as "a base usurpation of arbitrary authority. Vallandigham charged that attempts were now being made "to build up a monarchy upon the ruins of our free government".⁵³

Burnside did not hesitate in adopting a course of action. On the morning of May 5, 1863, military authorities arrested Vallandigham at his home in Dayton. A military commission was assembled in Cincinnati the following day, and ten days later found him guilty of publicly expressing sympathy for the rebellion and declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions with the

⁵² General Order No. 38, McPherson, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 162; *Report of Trial of Vallandigham*, p. 11.

⁵³ *The Trial of Vallandigham*, Cincinnati, 1863; Vallandigham, *Life of Clement L. Vallandigham*, ch. 12.

object of weakening the power of the Government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. The conclusion that he had explicitly expressed sympathy for the rebellion was not supported by the evidence; in fact, it is certain he had no real sympathy with the rebellion. The conclusion was however, a natural one under the circumstances, and perhaps not unjust. That Vallandigham was trying to weaken the Government at a critical time, and so was a dangerous citizen, skating on the thin ice of near-treason, will probably be denied by few today. The commission proposed close confinement in some fortress for the duration of the War. General Burnside approved the decision of the military court, and proposed confinement at Fort Warren, in Boston Harbor. The federal district court of southern Ohio refused to interfere when asked for a writ of habeas corpus, and expressed approval of the course which the military authorities had pursued.⁵⁴

There is direct testimony that the arrest and trial of Vallandigham for the particular offense of May 1, was the act of Burnside and not of his superiors. Burnside after the Civil War explained the case and virtually assumed responsibility. His statement was a defense; "Soon after I took command, I became very anxious in the contemplation of the great discontent and despondency on the part of many persons occasioned by the disloyal politicians, who at that time were doing so much harm in the Northwest. Letters were being sent into the army for the purpose of creating discontent among the soldiers, newspapers were full of treasonable expression, and large public meetings were held, at which our Government authorities and our gallant soldiers in the field were openly and loudly denounced for their efforts to suppress the rebellion. Our military prisons were full of persons arrested for uttering disloyal sentiments and committing disloyal acts."⁵⁵ The

⁵⁴ *Report of the Trial of Vallandigham*, pp. 259, 272, full opinion of the court.

⁵⁵ *Official Records*, (Series I), Vol. 23, Part 1, p. 12. Report of November 13, 1865, as commander of the Department of Ohio.

diary of Gideon Welles comments on the Cabinet conferences on the case and confirms the view that the act was Burnside's own.⁵⁶ Vallandigham's arrest was but one of a series at the time. Among others Logan, the editor of the *Dayton Empire*, was arrested and confined in prison.⁵⁷ They were probably intended as acts of warning to the Peace Democrats. Whether they accomplished the purpose is a matter the historical student finds it difficult to settle. Such acts heartened the loyal and stimulated the resistance of the opposition. The balance remains in doubt. That Burnside's policy had pushed the field of military authority farther into the normal ones of civil agencies than the President had yet done or intended is clear. Most of those arrested at this time were soon released. Burnside's order suspending the publication of the *Chicago Times*, June 1, 1863, was revoked by President Lincoln's order three days later.⁵⁸ A few weeks after the arrest of Vallandigham General Burnside consulted the Secretary of War in advance on a plan he had formed of arresting Judge Trimble of Kentucky for public statements against the War. Stanton's reply may be taken as an expression of deliberate policy of the Administration at the time. "If Mr. Trimble is found encouraging desertion from your army", Stanton said, "or in any way interfering with or endangering your military operations you will be authorized to place him under arrest; the mere declaration of his opposition to the War or that if elected he will oppose furnishing supplies of any kind is a good reason why loyal men should not vote for him but is not sufficient ground for military arrest."⁵⁹ Stanton's rule required a direct word encouraging desertion; Burnside's military court accepted an expression which indirectly tended to the same

⁵⁶ *Diary of Welles*, Vol. I, pp. 306, 321-3.

⁵⁷ *Official Records*, (Series II), Vol. V, p. 566.

⁵⁸ *Official Records*, (Series I) Vol. 23, Part 1, pp. 381-6.

⁵⁹ *Official Records*, (Series II) Vol. VI, p. 23.

end as sufficient. The distinction is rather a fine one, but real, none the less.

At any rate, in the case of Vallandigham, the President decided to support the policy of Burnside, except that the alternative punishment which had been suggested in Burnside's order was substituted for the sentence of the military court. The President's commutation of the sentence of Vallandigham instructed the military authorities to send him into exile in the Confederate States, subject to the revival of the original sentence of close confinement if he returned within the Union lines. Vallandigham was sent from Cincinnati to the outposts of the Union line, and thence under a flag of truce handed over to the Confederate pickets near Shelbyville, Tennessee. It was President Lincoln's purpose to identify Vallandigham in the mind of the northern people with treason and the Confederate cause, and so discredit his movement. What happened can best be told by the following reprints of manuscripts from the Bragg papers in Mr. W. P. Palmer's Civil War Collection at the Western Reserve Historical Society.

General Bragg in command of the Confederate army in middle Tennessee reported the arrival of Vallandigham to the Adjutant General of the Confederacy at Richmond, supplied him with a passport, and an explanatory letter.

Hd. Qrs - Dept. No.2 -

Shelbyville 27" May 1863.

Sir

On the 25" inst. the Hon. C. L. Vallandigham of Ohio U. S. was brought by an armed guard of the enemy, to the neutral ground between our pickets, on the road from Murfreesboro to this place; and was there abandoned by them—I have admitted him within my lines, and received him with the courtesy due any unfortunate exile seeking a refuge from tyranny—He desires to go to the state of Georgia, and I have granted him permission for that purpose.

Should the government desire any other policy in similar cases, I shall be pleased to receive instructions,

I am Sir

Very Respy

Yr obt. Servt

Adj^t Genl

C.S.Army

Richmond

Va.

(Sgd) Braxton Bragg

Genl Comr

Mr. Vallandigham, the bearer, a citizen of the State of Ohio, is permitted to pass as any Citizen of the Confederacy within the limits of this department.

Shelbyville, Tenn,

26th May, 1863

Sgd Braxton Bragg

Genl.

Headquarters Dept. No.2.

Shelbyville, Tenn.

26 May, 1863.

Hon. C. L. Vallandigham.
of Ohio. Shelbyville.

Sir,

I enclose you the passport desired, and congratulate you upon your arrival in our land of liberty, where you will find the freedom of speech and of conscience secured to all. Your sojourn amongst us, as a private citizen, exiled by a foreign government, with which we are at war, will of course impose some restraint upon you, which our people will fully appreciate

But I am satisfied you will ever receive the courtesy due your unfortunate position, and the respect of all who learn the quiet and retired position you have determined to occupy -

I am, Sir,

Very Respectfully

Yr. Obt. Svt.

Braxton Bragg

Genl C.S.A.

The Confederate authorities thought too highly of Vallandigham's services as a leader of forces in the Northwest which were weakening the Union cause to allow them to be neutralized in the way Lincoln intended that they should be. The southern newspapers had followed Vallandigham's agitation carefully and sympathetically. His speeches were printed in full. The point of view of the newspapers of the Southwest were particularly warm in admiration for Vallandigham.⁶⁰ The newspapers exhibited an anxiety to see him in a place where he could continue to foster the illusion of the hour. The South had looked to foreign mediation or intervention in 1861 and 1862. Vallandigham's peace party aroused a new hope of an easier road to independence than by a military victory, or at least, a way to make a military victory possible. They advocated sending Vallandigham on his way.⁶¹ The scheme was a logical one. It was Vallandigham's own. The Confederate authorities were equally anxious with the exile that his passage to neutral territory be expedited.

High reasons of state guided the Confederate Administration. It was worth while to encourage dissension at the North and to checkmate Lincoln. Vallandigham might be of service to them; they had no interest in his plan for peace and reunion. Moreover the Confederate authorities were constantly warned by newspaper writers against embarrassing alliance with this particular Peace Party. The Confederate Republic was to be a homogeneous state, so far as its labor system was concerned; free states were not to be courted too far.⁶²

VALLANDIGHAM tarried a week in Shelbyville behind the Confederate lines, an honorary enemy alien, so to

⁶⁰ See for example, *Augusta Constitutionalist*, Jan. 7, Feb. 14, Feb. 27, 1863; *Knoxville Daily Register*, May 28, June 7, June 13, July 31, 1863; *Athens (Tenn.) Post*, May 29, 1863.

⁶¹ See *Augusta Constitutionalist*, May 31, 1863; *Knoxville Daily Register*, May 28, 1863.

⁶² See for example, *Knoxville Daily Register*, May 28, June 7, 1863; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, May 31, 1863.

speak, while the Confederate authorities conferred on his case. The conclusion was to treat him as a citizen of the United States on parole, secure what information they could from him, and then send him on his way to a neutral country. The following selections from the Bragg Papers tell the story of the decision.

Head Quarters Dep^t No.2.
Shelbyville, Tenn May 31st 1863

Hon C. L. Vallandigham

Dear Sir

The General Commanding instructs me to enclose you a copy of a dispatch just received from Hon. I. A. Seddon Secretary of War, Richmond, and to request you to give a response in writing in order that he may answer the inquiry contained in the dispatch. The General desires also that you will return the passport given you as pending further instructions from Richmond it is evident that its issue is in conflict with the views which have prompted the dispatch.

(Braxton Bragg Genl)
Shelbyville, Tenn.
May 31, 1863

Gen. Bragg,

C. S. A.

Com^{ding} &c, &c,

Sir:

In answer to your note of this morning, allow me to say that it was my offer upon first entering your lines, to surrender myself a prisoner; & the order or suggestion of the Secretary of War, is entirely consonant to my original desire & purposes, though I sincerely trust that the parole may allow my departure at any time, as this is most important to me every way.

Please report also, that I came to your lines upon compulsion & against my consent, as a citizen of Ohio & of the United States, in exile banished from my country for no other offense than love of constitutional liberty, my political opinions, & resolute, undaunted

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A.
1917

Subscription price, Five Dollars per Annum in Advance
Single Copies, Fifteen Cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 2, 1882
Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., under No. 100,000
Acceptance for mailing at Special Rate of Postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917

Published by the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
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Printed at the Chicago Press and Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.

Volume 48
Number 1
January, 1917

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opposition to the principles & policy of the party & Administration in power in the United States. The order of the President was absolute, forbidding me to return under penalty of imprisonment during the war; & therefore left me no alternative; & it was executed by military force. It is better for me doubtless for several reasons, to be deemed a prisoner on parole while I remain in the Confederate States; but my most earnest desire is for a passport, if necessary, and permission to leave as soon as possible, either through some Confederate port, or by way of Matamoras, for Canada, where I can see my family, communicate with my friends & transact my business as far as practicable, unmolested. I am still a citizen of Ohio & of the United States, recognizing my allegiance to both, and retaining the same opinions & position which I have always held at home. As the President of the United States will certainly not *exchange* me, I trust I may be allowed to depart on parole for the place which I have above designated.

Very Respectfully &c

C. L. Vallandigham

Shelbyville 1st June 1863.

General S. Cooper

Adjutant General Richmond.

Honorable C. L. Vallandigham is here on Parole. He was brought under Guard by the Enemy and Abandoned in Front of my lines—With orders from his Government Not to Return Under Penalty of Imprisonment for the War Fearing assassination from a licensed Soldiery he made his Way to My Outpost & Surrendered as an alien Enemy owing allegiance to the State of Ohio and the United States But Exiled by the present Government for Maintaining his Civil Rights as a freeman.

He Awaits orders but desires to make his Way by the most Expeditious Route to Canada. I suggest a

The first of these is the fact that the British Empire is not a homogeneous entity. It is a collection of many different peoples, each with its own customs, traditions, and languages. This diversity is one of the strengths of the Empire, but it also presents challenges. The British must learn to understand and respect the differences between the various peoples of the Empire, and to find ways to bring them together in a common purpose.

The second challenge is the economic one. The British Empire is a vast and expensive enterprise, and it must be able to pay for itself. This means that the British must find ways to exploit the resources of the Empire, and to bring them back to Britain. This is a task that requires a great deal of skill and ingenuity, and it is one that the British must be prepared to undertake.

The third challenge is the political one. The British Empire is a collection of many different peoples, each with its own customs, traditions, and languages. This diversity is one of the strengths of the Empire, but it also presents challenges. The British must learn to understand and respect the differences between the various peoples of the Empire, and to find ways to bring them together in a common purpose.

The fourth challenge is the military one. The British Empire is a vast and expensive enterprise, and it must be able to pay for itself. This means that the British must find ways to exploit the resources of the Empire, and to bring them back to Britain. This is a task that requires a great deal of skill and ingenuity, and it is one that the British must be prepared to undertake.

Conference with him personally or by a Confidential Agent.

Braxton Bragg

Despatch

to

Genl S. Cooper

Ansrd 1st June

South-Western Telegraph Company.

Shelbyville, June 2nd, 1863.

By Telegraph from Richmond 2d, 1863.

To Genl. B. Bragg

Your dispatch to Adj^{nt} Gen'l rec^d Send Hon C. L. Vallandigham as an alien enemy under guard of an officer to Wilmington where further orders await him

Jeffn Davis

(27 pd.)

(Penciled note in handwriting of General Bragg on bottom of telegram as follows:

Upon Mr. Vallandigham's earnest request he was permitted to go this morning to Lynchburg to Confer with a distinguished friend of Virginia. He reports from there on parole to the war department.)

The decision of the Confederate authorities harmonized perfectly with the wish of the exile. He was ordered to report under parole at Wilmington, North Carolina. He journeyed by railroad through Chattanooga, Knoxville, Bristol, Lynchburg, and Petersburg to Wilmington. The Confederate Commissioner of prisoners joined him at Lynchburg.⁶³ What conferences Vallandigham held with Confederate authorities at the various stations en route are matters of speculation. A journey of a fortnight duration gave abundant time for them. John Jones, a clerk in the War Department at Richmond has left the record that he saw the memorandum of Mr. Ould, the commissioner of

⁶³ There are some details in the "Biographical Memoirs" by Vallandigham's brother, published in New York, 1864, which do not occur in the *Life of Clement L. Vallandigham* by the same author, J. L. Vallandigham, Baltimore, 1872.

prisoners, of a conversation held with Vallandigham for file in the archives. Vallandigham was quoted as assuring the Confederates that if they could hold out for this year "the peace party of the North would sweep the Lincoln dynasty out of political existence". "He seems", the clerk continues, "to have thought our cause was sinking, and feared we would submit, which would of course, be ruinous to his party. . . Mr. Vallandigham is for restoring the Union amicably, of course, and if it cannot be so done, then possibly he is in favor of recognizing our independence. He says any reconstruction which is not voluntary on our part would soon be followed by another separation, and a worse war than the present one."⁶⁴

On the night of June 17 a blockade runner carried Vallandigham safely through the blockading squadron. His brother tells how the vessel avoided an unpleasant search with the certainty of captivity for crew and passengers by an American man-of-war. On sighting the war ship the fleeing ship put on a bold front, dressed up a body of men in British uniforms, and paraded them on deck. The ruse succeeded. The man-of-war saw the brilliant scarlet uniform of the British army, and took the vessel for a British transport bound for the West Indies.⁶⁵ Vallandigham sojourned a few days in Bermuda, and took ship for Halifax where he landed July 5. Ten days later a special train bore him with some signs of triumph to the Clifton House at Niagara on the Canadian side. Here he seems to have engaged quarters while still a prisoner in Cincinnati.⁶⁶

In the meantime the Democratic party of Ohio had held its State Convention, June 11, adopted a Peace platform, and nominated the exile as its candidate for Governor. Vallandigham took up his campaign from his quarters at Niagara Falls, little hindered

⁶⁴ John Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, Vol. I, p. 357.

⁶⁵ Vallandigham, *Life of Clement L. Vallandigham*, pp. 314-5.

⁶⁶ *Official Records*, (Series II,) Vol. VII, p. 725.

by the international boundary which separated him from his followers. His manifesto for the Ohio Democracy, sent forth on the day of his arrival at the border, accepted the nomination and skillfully described his exile. "Arrested and confined", he said, "for three weeks in the United States, a prisoner of state; banished thence to the Confederate States, and there held as an alien enemy and prisoner of war, though on parole, fairly and honorably dealt with and given leave to depart,—an act possible only by running the blockade at the hazard of being fired on by ships flying the flag of my own country,—I find myself first a freeman when on British soil. And today, under protection of the British flag, I am here to enjoy and in part to exercise, the privileges and rights which usurpers insolently deny me at home". His party program was outlined. The people were told that he had not found "in all the Confederate States one who did not declare his readiness, when the war shall have ceased and invading armies been withdrawn, to consider and discuss the question of reunion. And who shall doubt the issue of the argument? I return therefore, with my opinions and convictions as to war and peace, and my faith as to final results from sound policy and wise statesmanship, not only unchanged, but confirmed and strengthened. And may God of heaven and earth so rule the hearts and minds of Americans everywhere that a Constitution maintained, a Union restored, a liberty henceforth made secure, a grander and nobler destiny shall yet be ours than that even which blessed our fathers in the first two ages of the Republic".⁶⁷ The address makes amazing reading a generation after the writing, amazing for its egotism and for its misinterpretation, or, let us say, misconception of the purposes and ideals of the Government of the United States. An extensive population accepted it as almost a new gospel. The popularity of Vallandigham with his followers, if the con-

⁶⁷ Vallandigham, *Life of Clement L. Vallandigham*, pp.318, 321.

temporary news reporters and editors had any truth in them, is a significant phenomenon.⁶⁸

In August, Vallandigham moved his headquarters to Windsor, opposite Detroit, because it was more accessible to the strongholds of his party in the Northwest. From all appearances he had successfully defeated the purposes of the Government in exiling him, and become a champion of free speech. The campaign of the Peace Democrats during the summer, and the course pursued by certain judges in defeating the draft law by discharging drafted men under habeas corpus proceedings worried President Lincoln.⁶⁹ Vallandigham was safely beyond reach. His political campaign must be left with the voters of Ohio. But the use of the writ of habeas corpus to defeat a law was another matter. President Lincoln called a Cabinet meeting on September 14 for the discussion of ways of combatting the interference of the courts. The President was according to the testimony of Cabinet members aroused to the seriousness of the situation. Gideon Welles, the Secretary of the Navy, reported that the operations of the navy were also embarrassed by the same abuses of disloyal courts, and that the practice might easily become a national disaster. The evidence of the provost-marshal on the means employed to defeat the draft convinced all members of the Cabinet with a cordial unanimity, says Welles, that a new policy should be adopted by the Administration.

From time to time President Lincoln had suspended the writ of habeas corpus as though the suspension were an executive prerogative. The Democratic opposition, and particularly the Peace Democrats, had laid emphasis on the letter of the constitution, and

⁶⁸ A book of songs to chant the praises of Vallandigham in fashion to please his followers was compiled in Columbus in 1863. *The Vallandigham Song Book*, Columbus, 1863.

⁶⁹ Gideon Welles, *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 432-5; Warden, *Account of the Private Life and Public Services of Salmon P. Chase*, pp. 543-5.

bitterly criticised his policy.⁷⁰ Lincoln's reply to his critics stated an important fact of the situation: that the enemy under the cover of liberty of speech, liberty of the press, and habeas corpus "hoped to keep on foot amongst us a most efficient corps of spies, informers, supplies, and aiders and abettors of their cause in a thousand ways. They knew that in times such as they were inaugurating by the Constitution itself the habeas corpus might be suspended, but they also knew that they had friends who would make a question as to who was to suspend it, meanwhile their spies and others might remain at large to help their cause".⁷¹ In its earlier form the issue was whether the President could at his own discretion under the constitution suspend the writ of habeas corpus in sections where the civil courts were still open. President Lincoln was convinced that the power was committed to himself as one of the "exceptions to the constitution", though within his official family there were some dissenters. Secretary Chase, the chief of these doubters finally came to the President's conclusion.⁷²

The act of Congress, March 3, 1863, gave the President the power to suspend the writ whenever in his judgement the public safety required. The President and his advisors concluded on September 15, 1863, that the interference with the enforcement of the draft law warranted the exercise of the powers committed to the Executive by Congress. A proclamation of the President suspended the writ for the duration of the War in all cases throughout the United States where persons were held by the military authorities

⁷⁰ See especially the protests of the New York and the Ohio Democrats after the arrest and trial of Vallandigham. New York protest, May 16 and 19, 1863. *Official Records*, (Series II,) Vol. V, p. 654; *Ohio Protest*, *Official Records*, (Series II,) Vol. VI, pp. 48-53.

⁷¹ *Official Records*, (Series II,) p. 4, *Reply to New York Democrats*; See pp. 56-9, *Reply to Ohio Democrats*.

⁷² Lincoln's *Reply to New York Democrats*, *Official Records*, (Series II,) Vol. VI, p. 5; Warden, *Life of Salmon P. Chase*, p. 545; Welles, *Diary*, p. 432.

as "spies, or aiders or abettors of the enemy".⁷³ The proclamation put an end to the issue as to the powers of the Presidency; but a new one took its place: had the Congress power to authorize the suspension when the civil courts were open? It was an annoying issue for the Administration. The Confederate States had adopted conscription in 1862, and conferred on the Executive the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in cases of interference with conscription as well as other enumerated offenses. For more than a year President Davis had been suspending the writ in large sections of the South.⁷⁴ Were the enemy to have full power to enforce universal service in time of war, and the Executive of the United States find his hands tied by a difference of interpretation of a clause of the constitution with a minority party out of sympathy with the War? Or as Lincoln said on a similar occasion: "Are all the laws but one to go on unexecuted and the Government itself go to pieces lest that one be violated?"⁷⁵

How far the extraordinary conditions of war times ever make necessary the interference with freedom of speech and action is one of the problems of democracies as well as autocracies. The interference does not in itself transform the authorities into an autocracy as so many assume so long as its conduct is that of the responsible agent of the majority of the people in free elections; and so long as the interference is done in a constitutional manner. No one has in recent years challenged the motives and spirit of President Lincoln's use of extra legal powers. But his policy during the

⁷³ Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. IX, p. 121.

⁷⁴ Moore, *Rebellion Records*, Vol. X, p. 227; *Daily Richmond Whig*, March 22, 1862; October 11, 1862, Feb. 19, 1864. The act of the Confederate Government for the suspension of the writ was not so sweeping as that of the United States; nor its use so extensive; it was severely criticised at the South; and was abandoned in August, 1864; but these facts from the History of a community fighting in large measures for States' Rights may well have given those in the North who were opposing the Administration food for thought.

⁷⁵ Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, Complete Works*, Vol. VI, p. 309.

early years of the civil War of suspending the writ in emergencies and his later policy of suspending the writ under an act of Congress throughout large sections of the country have both been condemned.⁷⁶ The Supreme Court by a vote of five to four in 1866 pronounced judgment against the policy of President Lincoln during the Civil War.⁷⁷ The constitution provides explicitly that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public safety may require it". The Congress and President interpreted the clause freely, with the effect of strengthening the central government; the Supreme Court after the crisis was passed read into the clause a strict construction. It is a fact of some significance that the five justices who pronounced against the suspension of the writ in regions where the civil courts were still open or, in other words, gave the clause a narrow construction were all Democrats; while three of the four who favored a liberal construction were Republicans. A decision so distinctly on party lines cannot be said to have settled the constitutional issue. May it not be said that the policy of the President with regard to the use of the writ of habeas corpus was, so to speak, playing safe in meeting the large responsibilities which were his? To a statesman who had watched one State after another sweep away Federal Government, root and branch, and set up a new nation, while President Buchanan sat helplessly by, his hands tied by strict construction doctrines; to one who, later, had with difficulty managed in 1861 by the use of martial law and arbitrary arrests to stop the spread of the rebellion in Maryland and the isolation of the national capitol, the news from the Northwest in the summer of 1863 was naturally more then disquieting.

⁷⁶ See Mr. Rhodes' discussion, *History of the United States*, Vol. IV, p.229; Willoughby, *Constitutional Law*, par. 733.

⁷⁷ 4 Wallace 3 *ex parte* Milligan, Dec. 1866.

THE alternative policy which President Wilson adopted in 1918—that of strengthening the powers of the Administration to deal with the disloyal by new legislation—rests for its success on the loyalty of the civil courts. But President Lincoln was dealing with cases where the civil courts were the very agents weakening the nation's military power. President Wilson has had the support of courts ready to sentence those who violated the selective service act to life imprisonment or long terms. The usual penalties of the Civil War military courts were for the duration of the war, though in many cases executive clemency shortened the sentence or annulled the sentence altogether. Sentence of life or twenty year periods were almost unheard of.

THE historical problem of the Civil War is to know whether the questionable constitutional procedure in the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus was justified by the conditions in the North, though the civil courts were still open. In short, whether in certain districts it was safe to wait until the process of breakdown had reached the point of civil war. The overwhelming majority of Congress authorized the act of which the historians and the majority of the Supreme Court have been critics. The President and his Cabinet reached the unanimous conclusion that the use of the power was necessary. The charge that the Administration exaggerated the disaffection in the Northwest proves nothing. The collapse of the Northwest conspiracy in 1864 is only partly a sign of inherent weakness; it is also a striking evidence that the vigorous Administrative policy adopted in 1863 was bearing fruit. Was not the conflict of the peace Democrats with the administration an attempt to stay a constitutional revolution—one which every crisis in American History has made clearer? That is, the development of the President as the responsible representative of the people, like the English Prime Minister. The American constitutional system, which was derived from the British

and strained to an artificial system of separation of powers has been slowly swinging back nearer the British practice whenever the moorings of peace times are broken by the unusual conditions of war time. President Lincoln's early suspension of the writ was closely parallel to the occasional procedure in emergencies of the British Prime Minister. When an English Prime Minister acting without authority from Parliament suspended the writ as an emergency measure he afterwards turned to Parliament for the legal protection of an indemnity act. Congress failed to give Lincoln the endorsement of an indemnity act until March 3. 1863, but the belated act completed the analogy.

President Lincoln, by his courage as an executive, saved the Union. It is true his call for the state militia to repress state rebellion repelled the middle group of slave states, but it rallied the national forces. It is true his Emancipation Proclamation alienated the pro-slavery element on the border, but it inspired with moral courage the democratic instincts of the North. It is true the assumption of power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in 1861, and again the use of the power authorized by Congress in 1863, alienated still farther the Peace Democracy, and consolidated it as no other act did, but the same act heartened the other elements of the nation. Buchanan by strict adherence to the letter of the constitution as it may be interpreted without grave danger in peace times, cost the nation four years of War and nearly lost the Union, constitution and all. A judicious student of history may find it difficult to endorse formally acts of questionable constitutionality; a grateful nation will in its judgments cleave through strict legalism, and endorse the acts of an agent whose, like Lincoln's, were so tempered with justice, and served no selfish purpose. May it not be true that the use of such powers in an emergency which a people cannot foresee is the supreme test of statesmanship?

A NORTHWEST CONFEDERACY TO FORCE PEACE

The movement represented by the Peace Democrats slowly drifted toward the end of 1863 and early in 1864 under the direction of the more radical or revolutionary elements of the party. The state election in Ohio occurred October 13, 1863. It tested the popular strength of Vallandigham. The Union candidate who was himself a War Democrat drew together the Republican and the War Democrat vote, and won. It was a substantial defeat of Vallandighamism. The civil population was nearly evenly divided in the vote, but the soldier vote was about twenty to one against Vallandigham.⁷⁸ The defeat of the Peace Democrats in the choice of members of the state legislature was more decisive. No election for local officers occurred in 1863 in Indiana and Illinois. General John H. Morgan's Raid into Indiana and Ohio in July, 1863, was a more striking test of the Peace Democrats and the secret organizations of the Northwest than the election. As the events showed the invasion was a reckless military adventure, but Morgan counted on a panic among the people and some direct aid from the armed bands of Knights of the Golden Circle. In both of these expectations he was completely deceived. Overwhelming forces of local militia were mobilized against him, first by Governor Morton in Indiana and then by Governor Tod in Ohio. His attacks on property of friend and foe offended the Peace Democrats as well as others and rallied all in the local militia in local defense. This position was inherent in the nature of the Peace Democratic movement. They exalted local freedom above everything else. They resented the invasion of the South by northern armies, of Kentucky by Confederate forces in 1861, of Indiana and Ohio by

⁷⁸ The citizen vote for Brough was 247,190, for Vallandigham, 185,274; the soldier vote for Brough, 41,467, for Vallandigham, 2,288. *The Annual Cyclopaedia, 1863*, p. 731.

Morgan, of Pennsylvania by Lee in 1863.⁷⁹ The Peace Democrats in the summer of 1863 were serving partisan ends and not the Confederacy, except in indirect ways

Vallandigham had intended, it seems, to return to Ohio in September, 1863, for an active part in the political campaign in open defiance of the Administration, but events which he interpreted as providential turned him from the project.⁸⁰ Finally in June, 1864, after an absence of almost exactly a year, he brought his exile to an end. He passed the border at Detroit in disguise, journeyed by rail nearly across the state of Ohio, and in a dramatic fashion, characteristic of the man, revealed himself to his friends in a district convention in session in Hamilton, Ohio, for the purpose of nominating a delegate to the Democratic convention in Chicago.⁸¹ Thereafter Vallandigham threw himself into the Presidential campaign. His speeches were as defiant as ever. The Administration allowed him to bluster and scold either convinced that he was not a revolutionist or hopeful that his selfish partisan appeal would become a boomerang.⁸² In fact by June, 1864, the loyal ele-

⁷⁹ Vallandigham in the South in May and June in 1863, advised strongly against the invasion of Pennsylvania by the Confederate armies on the ground that it would weaken the Peace Democratic forces. President Davis endorsed across the note which expressed Vallandigham's views his own that experience had proved the contrary. J. B. Jones, *A Rebel Clerk's Diary*, Vol. I, p. 357.

⁸⁰ Vallandigham, *Life of Clement L. Vallandigham*, Vol. I, p. 347-9.

⁸¹ Vallandigham, *Life of Clement L. Vallandigham*, pp. 351-4.

⁸² Two letters from the Vallandigham Papers at the Western Reserve Historical Society will throw some light on Vallandigham's life at this period.

Dayton, Ohio, July 7/64

My Dearest
Dear Mother:-

That I cannot with safety start to see you in your present illness, is the sorest of afflictions. But while I feel perfectly secure *here*, I think the Administration would be but too glad to find me alone at a distance from home. . . This danger, too, will pass by before long; but at present it may be too imminent to risk, & I know, my Dearest Mother, terrible as the trial is to both, you would not want me subjected to imprisonment again. And besides I cannot help hoping & indeed believing, that you will yet be spared this time; so that I can come & spend a happy time with you yet in the dear old (home) But give yourself no uneasiness in any event about me. "The Lord's my Shepherd". Neither fear

ment had regained confidence; the turn in the military tide had come; the preponderance of the Northern armies had begun to tell; the newspapers were able to find humor in "Vallandigham redivivus" and the "Great Dug Up".⁸³ A large faction of the Peace Democrats, those conspicuous at the same time in the military activities of the secret orders, were convinced by June, 1864, that the movement to force a peace without victory would fail at the polls, and Lincoln and a Union Congress be re-elected. These elements saw no hope of success except in a resort to force. The loss of confidence of the Sons of Liberty, as the orders called themselves by this time, in a political revolution was

for Elizabeth nor Rebecca. I will do all for them in my power, & they will remain at the old Homestead.

Oh how great is the denial which keeps me away from you! But Louisa and Charlie go, & she will tell you all, & do all for you that I could. So goodbye, dearest, dear Mother. Still hoping & expecting to see you this Summer on earth,

I am yet, as all my life, your devoted, affectionate Son
Clement.

Mrs. R. Vallandigham,
New Lisbon,
Ohio.

x

Dayton, Ohio.
Nov. 14, 1864.

Miss Rebecca Ann Vallandigham,
New Lisbon, Ohio.

My Dear Sister: I find it impossible to visit New Lisbon this fall. I could not go between the elections, because I was absent from the State. But will meet you at Lima on the Pittsburg Ft. Wayne & Chicago Road, any day this week or next, which you may fix, giving me notice by letter, of the day. You will have no change of cars or baggage from Salem to Lima, & but one meal. The train which leaves Salem between 6 & 8 o'clock in the morning, reaches Lima at 2.34 p. m. & connects with the down train to Dayton on the Dayton & Michigan road.

Brother G. wrote me in July that mother's outstanding bills (funeral &c included) amounted to about 75\$. I enclose a draft for 100\$ in the name of John Robertson, which he will get cashed. Retain 20\$ for yourself and 20\$ for sister Elizabeth, & pay the remaining 60\$ on outstanding bills, & bring me a statement of the balance due before Mother's death, & also since due from you and sister E. for household expenses &c.

I am very sorry that I cannot go on now, but it so happens. My best love to sisters E. & M.; to Mr. R's family & brother George & family; & kind regards to all friends.

Ellen Bell and Mollie go on to Cumberland on Thursday & will be gone some two months. So we shall be alone till you come.

Very affectionately your
brother Clement

P. S. I wish you would collect all letters &c of mine about the house & have proper care taken of them, so I can have them at any time.

⁸³ *Ohio State Journal*, June 17, 1864.

probably a result of a growing entanglement of the same forces in a conspiracy for a Northwest Confederacy. It is a noteworthy fact that at the same time other elements of the Democratic Party were confident and the Republicans despondent. The Administration needed a great outstanding victory, commensurate with the military efforts it had expended.^{83a} Division within its own ranks, indicated by the nomination of Fremont by radical Republicans for the Presidency, and the reports from the Northwest of a gathering storm of violence were cause enough for alarm.

It WAS natural that the Confederate authorities should make the most of any revolutionary turn among the Peace Democrats.⁸⁴ Such a developement had long been expected. General Braxton Bragg was led on to an invasion of Kentucky in September, 1862, with visions of becoming the liberator of Kentucky and the entire Northwest "from the tyranny of a despotic ruler". He carried along arms for 20,000 men whom he thought would rally to his standards. A proclamation was sent forth as a broadside appeal to the sectional interests of the Northwest, emphasizing the defensive position of the South, the community of

^{83a} For the despondency of the Republicans during the summer of 1864, see Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 520ff. Thompson's letter in *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 508; also report of J. Thompson, p. 1.

⁸⁴ It is possible to piece together the narrative of the Revolutionary Movement in the Northwest in 1864 from the reports of the Government agents in the *Official Records*, especially in (Series II), Vol. VII, and the testimony of detectives and prisoners who turned states' evidence in the various trials for treason which occurred, especially that edited by Benn Pitman, Recorder of the Military Commission of Indiana, under the title, *Trials for Treason*, but all these are vitiated by exaggeration and passion. An account of the conspiracy was constructed from these sources by the Federal Judge Advocate General, Josiah Holt, in a report to the Secretary of War. A brief, but judicious and exceedingly valuable report was made by the Confederate Commissioner in Canada to Judah P. Benjamin, the Secretary of War of the Confederate States. A longer account of much interest was prepared some years after the Civil War by Captain Thomas H. Hines who represented the Confederacy in the conspiracy, and published in the *Southern Bivouac*, Louisville, (new series,) Vol. 2, nos. 7, 8, 9, and 11. For histories of the episode see Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. V, pp. 320-9; Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, Vol. 1, ch. 29. pp. 390 ff; Wm. C. Cochran, *The Dream of a Northwestern Confederacy*, *Proceedings of The Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1916, p. 213 ff.

interest with the South, and throwing the blame for the War on the East.⁸⁵ Braggs generalship was faulty, and his army was stopped before Louisville. The accretion to his army from Kentucky barely equaled a brigade, less than his casualties in the undertaking. The proclamation had no appreciable effect. Yet the doctrine that only minor misunderstandings separated the Southwest from the Northwest would not down. It was a common theme with newspaper writers of the Southwest that the principle one of these was commercial. Those who held this view urged that the Confederate States remove the difficulty by pledging to the Northwest the free navigation of the Mississippi whenever the independence of the South should be acknowledged.⁸⁶ As a matter of fact the Confederate Congress had done so at the beginning of the War. But writers had in mind a special pledge to the Northwest as an allied republic.

As the Confederate armies felt the pressure of the Union armies in 1864 the Peace Democrats of the Northwest became the last string of the three in the Confederate bow.⁸⁷ The southern interest in the possibilities of the Northwestern situation gained momentum with experience and the increasing desperateness of its cause. A writer in the Knoxville Daily Register maintained as early as May 12, 1863, that the War could not be ended until the Northwest was separated from the rest of the United States. Some saw the forces of

⁸⁵ The proclamation was published in the newspapers and circulated as a broadside. (See inset in fac-simile.) It was published in the *Chattanooga Daily Rebel*, Oct. 19, 1862. See *Official Records*, Vol. XVI, part 1, p. 1088, part 2 p. 822.

⁸⁶ *Knoxville Daily Register*, March 11; March 26, April 24, 1863; *The Chattanooga Daily Rebel*, March 27, May 30, 1863; *The Staunton Spectator*, July 7, 1863; *Augusta, Daily Constitutionalist*, February 15, 1863; *Athens (Tenn.) Post*, February 13, 1863.

⁸⁷ (1) The military resources, dash, courage, and homogenous white population. The contempt of the South for the military qualities of the northern population was a part of this view; (2) the mediation or intervention of Europe on account of a cotton famine; (3) the community of economic interest of the Southwest and the Northwest.

TO THE F

On approaching your border
head of a Confederate Army
proper to announce to you the
and the purposes of my presence
therefore make known to you

1st. That the Confederate
Government is waging this war solely
for defence—that it has no design
to conquer, nor any other purpose
but to secure peace and the abandon
ment of the United States of its present
Government to a people who never
governed a people who never
their subjects, and who prefer
independence to a union with them.

2nd. That the Confederate
Government and people, deprecating

the Northwest in truer proportions. "Of all the humbugs of the age", one southern iconoclast wrote, "this Northwestern hobby is the most absurd, and at the same time the most dangerous. Newspapers, having exhausted themselves on the European intervention, are now trying to raise our hopes by the promise of a new alliance".⁸⁸ An article by a southern planter, published in the *Chattanooga Daily Rebel*, attracted considerable attention. It outlined the plan of those who would nurture a new secession in the United States. The document is here reprinted entire as a type of the point of view of those in the south who were looking to the Northwest with hope.

"Hon. H. S. Foote, Richmond:

DEAR SIR:- Your efforts to suggest some plan by which the war might be shortened have been praiseworthy. So little had been indicated north of the Ohio river that it left every move open to serious objections.

Time and efforts produce by the valor of our troops, seem to have given existence to a sentiment which deserves a watchful attention from statesmen of the South.

This sentiment is found among the agricultural interests in the "Northern" Valley of the Mississippi river, and mainly among the old Democrats of that region. We occupy a position now, and have always done so, that we could not make proposals to the Lincoln Government. That is the true position still. To that, we bid defiance; but to the legislatures of Indiana and Illinois, and other states of the Northern Valley of the Mississippi, which may come to their conclusions, I hold a different policy to be correct. We should meet their resolutions with all the concessions which we can consistently make in trade and general commerce, including, of course, the free navigation of the Mississippi river, upon conditions thus:

⁸⁸ *Knoxville Daily Register*, May 5, 1863; a warning was also published in the *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist* Jan. 27, 1863.

1st. Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas and Minnesota, and perhaps Ohio, shall form the "Northern Confederacy".

2d. Both Confederacies, "Southern" and "Northern", to be politically independent. All the slave states to belong to the "Southern Confederacy."

3d. A league between the two, offensive and defensive, and runaway slaves to be returned; the navigation of the Mississippi river and free trade, and "imports" at our tariff.

Advantages to both "Confederacies." The "Southern Confederacy" obtains peace. A strong Ally in War and protection to slavery. Her independence acknowledged by the Northern Confederacy, which will be sufficient. She obtains for her seaboard cities the importations for both Confederacies, and their freight on her rivers and railroads.

The "Northern Confederacy" gets rid of the responsibility of slavery. It may assume whatever portion of the immense war debt now existing, they may decide upon.

It secures importations at our low tariff. It secures its former market in the South for its agricultural productions and the same use of the great Mississippi river. Its political independence gives position and place to its rising statesmen. Its topography and unity of pursuit, institutions and labor; secure harmony and legislation, and promise great prosperity. The two together secure the adjacent territories, a very important point; as they cannot be united to the remnant of the old United States, lying East; including New England which brought on the war. The two Confederacies would become the great "powers" of the American Continent.

The "Southern Confederacy," based upon slave labor, would always preponderate in intellect; and would control.

I present this to your well stored, prolific mind, as an outline of what may come out of a wise course in

meeting the sentiment of the "North West", heretofore alluded to.

It is true they have fought us; invaded our country; and wronged us terribly; but that is done, and cannot be recalled. It is a matter of incalculable advantage to our Confederacy—to stop the sacrifice of life, and of some importance to limit the debt, and restore our citizens to their homes. Concession can be made to the "Northern Confederacy" formed of the States named; which will stop the war and will benefit us at the same time. As a cotton planter, and slave owner, I would greatly prefer the league, on the terms mentioned, to separate independence, with the enemy of that people, to the institution of slavery. As soon as they are disconnected from slavery, it will cease to be discussed, everywhere.

If we are not strong, it may generate another war. The League gives great strength. Under this league, can be embraced what they mean by reconstruction. That is, their position will be as good, or better than before, and 22 States will be in the league instead of 33, But the New England States, New Jersey, Delaware, &c., are of no importance to them. They have secured the market and trade, and for these they were fighting; and are also politically disconnected from slavery. Indeed they thus obtained all they are contending for. They say they are not fighting to free the slaves. We obtain all we are contending for.

I find ultra men, unwilling to do anything, but fight on. They are not in the army, I have been with the army since its organization. I know the opinion and sentiment of the army. They have suffered sufficiently, and desire peace.

If the North-west are met on the basis proposed herein, I think we will enter the wedge which will sunder the present authorities conducting the war. Lincoln will carry on the war during his administration, if he can get the support of these states. We then should be on the alert, and if possible, deprive him of

this portion of his army. The balance we can whip, very soon, if necessary. We can conquer a peace from them; but that will not be necessary. If Indiana and Illinois withdraw the war will close. With these proposals before them, they won't fight longer. The other States named will follow, or some of them at least.

If this be neglected on our part, the leading men may be offered positions, which would neutralize their efforts.

These States are a part of the Mississippi Valley and their true alliance is with the South. They are an agricultural people, and so are we; but their products are different from ours, and hence the advantages in a commercial league.

Negotiations must begin sometime—fighting alone won't adjust a difficulty.

I have seen so little of the proceedings of Congress, that I am ignorant of what has been discussed.

The prominent idea is this. We make no proposition to the Government, but we should put in some shape what we will do with certain States, so as to induce them to cease waring.”⁸⁹

A considerable correspondence arose between those in the Southwest and the Northwest who had become interested in the Northwest Confederacy.⁹⁰ Undoubtedly Governor Morton of Indiana had the economic conditions, which caused this project, in mind when he urged on President Lincoln a vigorous campaign on the Mississippi River.⁹¹ Political as well as military expediency prompted the campaign which opened the Mississippi to the Gulf by mid-summer of

⁸⁹ From the *Chattanooga Daily Rebel*, March 13, 1863. See also an article under the heading “*A Grand Programme for Forming a Northwestern Confederacy*” in the *Richmond Enquirer*, February 16, 1862; and General Beauregard's letter, May 26, 1863, on the proper policy of the South in *Official Records*, (Series I,) Vol. XIV, p. 955.

⁹⁰ A collection of such letters was published in the *Cincinnati Commercial* in September, 1865.

⁹¹ *Morton to Lincoln*, October 27, 1862, in Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton* Vol. I, p. 211.

1863. The counter stroke of the Administration undoubtedly weakened the movement among the Peace Democrats of the Northwest which was rising in the South. At the very time when the South was becoming anxious for a Northwest Confederacy, the economic foundations of the Peace Democracy were crumbling. Such are the vicitudes of history.

Oblivious of the declining interest of the farmers of the Ohio Valley in secession as a method of recovering river markets, the radical leaders of the Peace Democracy prepared their cohorts during the spring of 1864 for revolution. At the same time Confederate authorities yielded to the growing pressure of those at the South who had confidence in the opportunity to embarrass the United States with a Northwest Confederacy. Three commissioners, among them Jacob Thompson who was Buchanan's Secretary of the Interior, were sent to Canada. One function of the commission was to nurture the peace factions of the United States, and weaken the will to continue the War. The approaching Presidential campaign was unquestionably the particular occasion of President Davis' peace drive. But the military function of the Commissioners was in no sense secondary. The loss of Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas, as well as the greater part of Mississippi and northern Alabama had seriously reduced the population from which the Confederacy was able to recruit its armies and garner its supplies. The prison camps of the Northwest and the Confederacy of the Northwest held out tempting possibilities. Captain Thomas H. Hines who had been captured in Morgan's raid and with his chief escaped from prison was detached from the Confederate army to organize the military activities entrusted to the commission. Other officers were detailed to co-operate with Captain Hines.

The Confederate commissioners achieved one result from the peace drive. They drove a wedge which threatened the unity of the Union Party. Horace

Greeley had never ceased to believe in a negotiated peace, one without victory. In 1862 and 1863 his faith was pinned to mediation. He corresponded with Vallandigham and the French minister at Washington in his efforts to "drive Lincoln into it".⁹² In July, 1864, he became interested in a report that Confederate Commissioners were in Canada with powers to negotiate for peace. President Lincoln sent Greeley to Niagara Falls to look into the matter. "I not only intend", said the President, "a sincere effort for peace, but I intend that you shall be a personal witness that it is made".⁹³ Greeley bore the President's terms.

Executive Mansion.

Washington, July 18, 1864.

To Whom it may concern:

Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by, and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points. and the bearer, or bearers thereof shall have safe-conduct both ways.

Abraham Lincoln

⁹² See Vallandigham, *Life of Clement L. Vallandigham*, p. 223; the *Diary of H. H. Raymond*, *Scribner's Monthly*, Vol. XIX, March 1880, pp. 705, 706, 708; *The New York Tribune*, Dec. 27, 1862, Jan. 9, 14, Feb. 13, 1863; Nicolay and Hay *Lincoln*, Vol. VI, p. 83.

⁹³ Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, Vol. IX, pp. 185-189. Holcomb, one of the Commissioners, *Report to J. P. Benjamin*, Nov. 16, 1864, p. 11.

They were reunion and the abandonment of slavery. The would-be peace-maker found the Confederate commissioners without authority to negotiate peace. That was not their commission in Canada. The episode alienated Greeley still more; it gave offense to those in the Union Party who thought the abandonment of slavery made the terms of peace too harsh.⁹⁴ Greeley's point of view was that of the theoretical pacifist. He followed the illusion that if the Administration would talk peace, gently and tactfully, enough, the enemy would yield all. As a matter of fact President Lincoln made every reasonable effort to save needless warfare. If the Confederate Commissioner, Jacob Thompson, is a creditable witness, the Secretary of War, Stanton, sent Jeremiah S. Black, to Toronto to confer with himself and his associates on the subject of peace. Black, Stanton, and Thompson had all been members of Buchanan's Cabinet, and intimate friends. Black, like Greeley, was apparently trying to become a mediator.⁹⁵ The report of the two Agents from Lincoln to Davis directly in the summer of 1864 showed how vain was the view that a peace could precede a complete victory.⁹⁶

IN THE meantime the military project of the Commission had not been overlooked. When Thompson and Captain Hines arrived in Canada they found Vallandigham still at Windsor. A conference with him taught them that he was friendly disposed but still determined not to allow his cause to be identified with that of the Confederate States. A year of exile in Canada had not moved him from the resolution he had taken when sent from prison through the Confederate lines. Thompson and Hines were liberally supplied with money, and ready to promote Vallandigham's

⁹⁴ Nicolay and Hay, *Life of Lincoln*, Vol. IX, p. 196; Greeley, *American Conflict*, Vol. II, p. 664; See Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. IV, pp. 513-4.

⁹⁵ *Thompson's Letter*, August 23, 1864 in *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 500.

⁹⁶ For the story of the irregular mission of the President's agents, Col. James F. Jacques and J. R. Gilmore, see Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 515.

cause. The Supreme Commander of the Sons of Liberty would accept none of the Confederate fund; subordinates among the Sons of Liberty were found who were less scrupulous.⁹⁷ Vallandigham confined his activities, consistent with his representations, to the political phases. He never spoke of the use of force to help the South; he did to defend the civil liberty of his section. It was his opinion on the eve of his return to the United States in June, 1864, that the Administration would arrest him, and the Northwest rise in revolt in his defense. So he expressed himself to the Confederates at the conference. They had in fact a delicate task in using money to promote the revolutionary movement in the Northwest. Thompson claimed to have half a million dollars for the purpose, but it seems from his report that he actually spent only \$200,000 of it. Boxes marked "pick-axes," "hardware," "nails," "household goods," "Sunday school books," and the like carried revolvers, rifles, and ammunition from Canada to the officers of those bands of Sons of Liberty who could be trusted.⁹⁸ The Commission would seem to have wasted no small part of its resources in visionary schemes of well meaning persons and in satisfying the claims of vicious unworthy refugees about the headquarters in Canada.

The result of the conferences between the revolutionary leaders in the Northwest and the Confederate agents in Canada finally took the form of a plot for an uprising on July 20, 1864.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Hines in *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 506; *Report of J. Thompson*, p. 1; Foulke, *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 401.

⁹⁸ Pitman, *Indiana Treason Trials*, p. 41; *Report of Judge Advocate General, J. Holt*, p. 6; *Report of the Adjutant General of Indiana*, Vol. I, p. 298; *Official Records*, (Series II,) Vol. VII. pp. 631, 646, 728.

⁹⁹ A report from a federal agent in the Northwest says the Order of American Knights had planned an uprising in March, and another July 4, 1864. If so, these were separate movements of the secret societies and not the larger project of the Confederate agents and the Radical Peace Democrats. See *Official Records*, (Series III.) Vol. IV, p. 579.

The Confederates were to furnish a few score from the bands of refugees in Canada. These were to make their way to the prison camps in Indiana and Illinois, and in co-operation with the local revolutionaries set free the prisoners. The whole would then form the nucleus of a gathering army. Provisional Governments take the place of State Governments; a Northwest Confederacy be created; and alliance be made with the Confederate States. Such was the dream of the Confederates and Sons of Liberty. As the date for the revolt approached, the confidence of the officers of the Sons of Liberty in their own preparations sank. Public meetings held over the Northwest to prepare the way only emphasized the faith of the masses in the ballot rather than the rifle. The local orators said little of an appeal to force, and much of a partisan victory. A new conference of Confederates and Copperheads assembled. The date for the outbreak was put off until August 16. This time an opportune seizure by federal authorities of the arms intended for the use of the Sons of Liberty in Indianapolis; the arrest of Judge Bullitt of the Kentucky Copperheads; the outspoken opposition in Indiana within the Democratic Party to revolt; all had a share in the failure of the Peace Democrats to become revolutionists when the new crisis came. An intimate knowledge of the crudeness of the organization of the military side of the movement was a depressing force.¹⁰⁰ The Confederates were getting desperate for results. The Peace Democrats still thought time was with them. "By patience and perseverance in the work of agitation", one of them said, "we are sure of a general uprising which will result in a glorious success. We must look to bigger results than the mere liberation of prisoners. We should look to the grand end of adding an empire of Northwestern States".¹⁰¹ The Confed-

¹⁰⁰ Hines, in *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 508. Report of W. H. H. Terrell the Adjutant General of Indiana, Vol. I, p. 309.

¹⁰¹ Hines, in *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 507.

erates were ready to depend on the resources in sight; The Peace Democrats, estimating these more accurately, insisted that the movement could only succeed in case the Confederate States diverted considerable armies in co-operation with the revolt in the Northwest. Information of the new conditions imposed by the Northwestern leaders was passed on to the Confederate Government, but the day was past for a Confederate invasion of the Northwest, whatever the promises might have been.¹⁰²

August 16 passed without an outbreak. A third effort of the parties to the conspiracy to get together was made under the cover of the Democratic Convention which assembled in Chicago, August 29. The Convention adopted a Peace platform and nominated a War candidate, thus attempting to carry water on both shoulders. The platform makers under Vallandigham's influence declared the War a failure, denounced violations of the constitution and attacks on civil liberty under the pretense of military authority, and announced the Democratic plan that "immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of States."¹⁰³ The nomination, however, of George B. McClellan, a popular Union General and War Democrat, who promptly repudiated the peace plan of the platform, showed the confusion of party councils at Chicago.¹⁰⁴ The Compromise represented the clash in leadership of Vallandigham with Governor Seymour of New York.

The Convention adjourned and a third time the rumors of revolt died away. The evidence records a

¹⁰² Hines, in *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 508.

¹⁰³ McPherson, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 419.

¹⁰⁴ McClellan's letter of repudiation, September 8, 1864, *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia*, 1864, p. 794.

flocking into Chicago hotels during the Convention of Confederate filibusters in the confidence of the revolutionary faction of the Peace Democrats. Captain Hines claimed to have sixty Confederate officers and soldiers. The Copperheads claimed they could muster 5000 members of secret societies in and about Chicago for co-operation. Estimates of the number actually available have little value. The conspirators met in the Richmond house and laid the plot. At Camp Douglas, a sixty acre camp on the Chicago river, was a body of 4377 Confederate prisoners guarded by 2974 Union soldiers. According to the plan the conspirators were to charge the camp, release the prisoners, and from Federal arsenals nearby arm and supply the whole. The project was nothing less than a foolhardy one. A conference on the night preceding the appointed day, and a calm stock-taking sobered the architects of a Northwest Confederacy. Federal detectives had dogged every step of the conspirators. The force on guard at the camp had been nearly doubled for the occasion. A disorganized mob however well led was no match for the organized and alert forces on guard. In short, the vigilance of the Administration saved a costly encounter, nothing more. There never was a chance of success, for every step of progress the radical forces had made toward revolution had been known and met by counter measures of the Government.

The Confederate authorities in Canada were convinced by the experience of July and August, 1864, that no direct military advantage was to be gained for the Confederate cause from the Peace Democrats by longer delay and devoted their efforts to embarrassing the United States through undertakings which were based on their own strength. Each was scarcely more than a small filibustering expedition on a loosely guarded frontier. In September a gang of Confederates operating from Canada attempted to seize the single ship of war of the United States on Lake Erie, the *Michigan*,

and with it liberate the prisoners at Johnson's Island in Sandusky Bay, advance on Cleveland by land and water, and thence cut the way across the state of Ohio to Virginia, spreading demoralization on the way.¹⁰⁵ The adventurers succeeded in capturing two passenger steamboats as the first steps toward the control of the naval forces on Lake Erie. But, as had been the case on earlier occasions, detectives had pursued the tracks of the leaders, and timely arrests foiled the co-operation anticipated. In reality the crew of the *Michigan* outnumbered the conspirators five-fold, and moreover were not to be taken off their guard. The Confederate crews took discretion to be the better part of valor, refused to risk a battle with the *Michigan*, destroyed their embryonic fleet, and scattered in Canada.

Confederate agents and lawless elements under the cover of the state of the times, it is not possible to determine which it was, conducted a constant attack on property throughout the Northwest. Gunboats and freight boats on the rivers mysteriously took fire. Houses and barns were burned.¹⁰⁶ A propaganda was carried on by the Confederates in Canada in order to discourage enlistment in the Union armies and the subscription to federal bonds. The people were given the gratuitous advice to convert greenbacks into gold for safety. Agents in New York city bought gold, shipped it to Canada, and sold it for sterling bills of exchange, only to repeat the operation, in order to embarrass Federal financing. But there is no evidence that any of these efforts were significant factors in the great struggle.

THE danger of civil war in the Northwest passed in September, 1864. The Treason Trials of six of the leading Sons of Liberty in Indiana in September and October, and the death sentence of three demonstrated

¹⁰⁵ Nicolay and Hay, *Life of Lincoln* Vol. VIII, p. 18; Hines, in *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, p. 699; Thompson to Benjamin, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ There is a great deal of testimony on this subject in the *Original Record s*, (Series II,) Vol. VII. See also (Series III,) Vol. IV, pp. 579, 791.

the power of organized society.¹⁰⁷ The capture of Atlanta on September 3 gave the lie in a spectacular manner to the declaration of the Peace Democrats in Convention in Chicago that the War was a failure. The reelection of Lincoln and the decisive Union victory at the polls in the Northwest in particular drove home the illusion of those who counted on the overthrow of Lincoln by any means. The Sons of Liberty sought shelter in the fall of 1864 under new names like the "Order of the Star," etc., but their force was gone. The march of events in favor of the Union went steadily, overwhelmingly on. Sheridan's devastation of the Shenandoah in October, and Sherman's in Georgia in December foreshadowed the approaching end. In January, 1865, Vallandigham made a final appeal for a negotiated peace.¹⁰⁸ He appealed to Horace Greeley who was reported to have renewed his pressure on Lincoln. Vallandigham had not changed his attitude in the slightest in four years. The war was still described as the work of a self-willed, self-seeking group of Republican politicians; the South could never be subdued. The letter concluded that the suggestion that useless loss of blood could be saved by a combination of the Peace elements of the Republican and Democratic parties. But the prestige of the leaders of these elements, Greeley and Vallandigham, was waning fast, along with the declining Confederacy.

A few days after Vallandigham made his appeal to Greeley, President Lincoln and Secretary Seward met representatives of the Confederacy at Hampton Roads. The story of the origin and temper of the conference is a striking record of the genuine pacific purposes of Lincoln, linked with sound national pol-

¹⁰⁷ Lambdin P. Milligan, one of these, was the appellant in whose behalf the Supreme Court in 1866 pronounced the particular military commission which had tried him invalid, and against Martial Law when Civil Courts were open.

¹⁰⁸ Vallandigham, *Life of Clement L. Vallandigham*, p. 402

licy.¹⁰⁹ The conference was of no avail. Jefferson Davis and his advisors were undismayed by the march of events. They were still unwilling to drink of the bitter cup of reunion and emancipation. The terms spelled a humiliating defeat. Davis assumed that the conference was "for the purpose of securing peace to the two countries;" Lincoln, "to the people of our one common country." It would seem that peace on some other terms than those Grant gave Lee of unconditional surrender were the great phantom that pacifists, States' Rights, partisans, and pro-southerns chased throughout the Civil war. As a matter of historical fact the "Union as it was" disappeared as American society adjusted itself to the freedom of the black race; "the constitution as it is" ceased to trouble the conservatives when it became apparent in peace times that civil liberty and the new nationalism were not irreconcilable.

¹⁰⁹ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. V, p. 59.

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